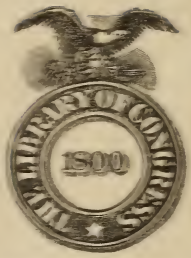

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1829

Ann Hasseltine Judson

Ob.t Oct. 24.th 1826.

MEMOIR

OF

MRS. ANN H. JUDSON,

LATE MISSIONARY TO BURMAH.

INCLUDING A

HISTORY

OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION IN THE BURMAN EMPIRE.

BY JAMES D. KNOWLES,

PASTOR OF THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH IN BOSTON.

"Come, Lord, and added to thy many crowns,
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
THOU, who alone art worthy." ..... *Cowper.*

Boston:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY LINCOLN & EDMANDS ...ient
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1829.

BV3271
.J81K7
1829

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, *to wit:*

District Clerk's office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-first day of February, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, HEMAN LINCOLN, Treasurer of the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor in behalf of said Convention, in the words following, *to wit:*

"Memoir of Mrs. Ann H. Judson, late Missionary to Burmah. Including a History of the American Baptist Mission in the Burman Empire. By James D. Knowles, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston.

'Come, Lord, and added to thy many crowns,
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
Thou, who alone art worthy.' "..... COWPER.

In Conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an Act entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned: and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical, and other Prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

022

PREFACE.

The Compiler of the following pages, while he feels no wish to disarm criticism, by any apologies, deems it right to say, that he undertook the service with reluctance, arising from a fear, that the multiplied engagements and incessant anxieties of an extensive parochial charge would, alone, prevent him from satisfying the expectations of the publick. But a persuasion that such a book would be useful, and the solicitations of those whose opinions and wishes he is accustomed to respect, have induced him to endeavour to perform the duty.

He acknowledges, with gratitude, the kind assistance which he has received from several individuals, and particularly from the parents and other relatives of Mr. and Mrs. Judson. To the materials which they have supplied, the work is indebted for much of its interest and value.

It is much to be regretted, that the greater part of the private journals of Mrs. Judson, and other valuable papers, were destroyed by herself, at Ava, at the commencement of the war, in 1824, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Burmans. The extracts from her journals, which are quoted in this work, were found by her husband,

among her papers, and were by him transmitted to this country.

It ought to be here stated, that it was thought desirable, to connect with a Memoir of Mrs. Judson, a History of the Burman Mission. Her life is indeed a history of that Mission, up to the period of her death. Her valuable Letters to Mr. Butterworth are out of print; and this Memoir contains the only connected narrative, which can now be obtained, of the rise and progress of the Burman Mission. Of the usefulness of such a narrative, no doubt can be entertained. Information concerning the real condition and wants of the heathen world must be spread among the churches, before they can be excited to a proper state of feeling in regard to missions. Christians, therefore, may serve the cause of the Redeemer, by circulating authentick accounts of the deplorable situation of the heathen nations, and statements of the nature, designs and progress of the benevolent efforts which Christians are now making for the conversion of the world. It is hoped, that such an account of Burmah and of the Burman Mission will be read with interest, and will operate beneficially on the publick mind.

Care has been taken to make this narrative as concise as possible. It is, of necessity, for the most part, a compilation from letters and documents, portions of which have before been published; but it is believed that those who have read them will peruse them again with increased pleasure in their connected form. The History is continued to the present time, in order that this book may be a complete record of all the important facts relating to the Mission, up to the latest dates from Burmah.

In preparing the Memoir, the Compiler has aimed to make it, as much as possible, an auto-biography, by introducing Mrs. Judson's private journals and letters, so far as they could be obtained, and were suitable for publication. Though he has been less successful than he wished, in gathering materials for this part of the work, yet the rea-

der will find a large proportion of the book composed of details which have not, till now, met the publick eye.

The delay which has occurred, in the publication of the Memoir, is, on some accounts, a cause of regret; but it has been unavoidable. After the death of Mrs. Judson was known in this country, it was early resolved, by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, that a Memoir should be prepared. But it was necessary to obtain from her husband the papers, and other information, which he might furnish. Nearly two years elapsed, before these arrangements could be finished. Considerable time and labour were necessary, moreover, to collect materials in this country, before the work could be commenced. These facts will explain the reasons, why the book has not before been published. One advantage, at least, has resulted from the delay. The present situation of the Mission is highly auspicious; and the History, while it is more complete, is, also, more cheering, than it would have been at any former period.

This book is published under the direction of the Baptist Board of Missions, and its funds will be aided by a wide circulation of the work. But the chief purpose of the Board and of the Author has been to advance, by its publication, the cause of truth and of missions.

The Compiler has felt the difficulty of treating properly some topicks which have a necessary connexion with the narrative, and which have occasioned various feelings, in different bosoms. Some may think that he has touched them too lightly; while others may have wished that they should not be mentioned at all. He can merely say, that he has endeavoured to ascertain what duty required of him, and to perform it in a right manner and with right feelings.

The Map which accompanies this volume is copied, with some alterations, from Snodgrass' "Burmese War," a copy of which was kindly furnished from the Library of the Newton Theological Seminary.

The work has been finished, with as much fidelity and care, as the leisure hours of a Pastor, few, interrupted and far between, have allowed him to bestow on it; and it is now commended to the blessing of God, and to the favour of the publick, with the hope, that while it serves as a memorial of the character and actions of a departed servant of the Redeemer, it may assist to foster pious feelings, and to enkindle stronger desires for the universal triumph of the Gospel.

Boston, February 20, 1829.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Mrs. Judson's Birth, Education, and Conversion, - - 9

CHAPTER II.

Her Connexion with Mr. Judson, - - - - - - 31

CHAPTER III.

Embarkation—Voyage—Arrival at Calcutta, - - - 44

CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties with the Bengal Government—Sail for Isle of France —Death of Mrs. Newell, - - - - - - - 56

CHAPTER V.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and Mr. Rice, become Baptists—Mr. Rice returns to America—Mr. and Mrs. J. sail for Madras—Arrive at Rangoon, - - - - - - - - - - 69

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of the Geography, History, Religion, Language, &c. of the Burman Empire, - - - - - - - - - 87

CHAPTER VII.

Establishment of the Mission at Rangoon, - - - - 101

CHAPTER VIII.

Letters of Mrs. Judson—Birth and Death of a Son—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hough, - - - - - - - - 116

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Judson's Visit to Chittagong—Persecution of Mr. Hough, and his Departure for Bengal—Return of Mr. Judson—Arrival of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock, - - - - - - 129

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Judson commences Preaching—First Convert baptized—Death of Mr. Wheelock, - - - - - - - - 142

CHAPTER XI.

Visit to Ava—Unsuccessful Interview with the King, - - 161

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival in Calcutta—Return to Rangoon—Dr. Price joins the Mission—Mrs. Judson sails for America, - - - - - 177

CHAPTER XIII.

Mrs. Judson's Visit to America—Mr. Wade joins the Mission—Sail for Calcutta, - - - - - - - - - 185

CHAPTER XIV.

Messrs. Judson and Price visit Ava, - - - - - 199

CHAPTER XV.

Return of Mrs. Judson—War with the British, - - - 213

CHAPTER XVI.

Account of the Scenes at Ava during the War, - - - 227

CHAPTER XVII.

Narrative continued—Removal of the Prisoners to Oung-pen-la—Mrs. Judson follows them, - - - - - - - 243

CHAPTER XVIII.

Removal to Amherst—Mrs. Judson's Death, - - - 261

CHAPTER XIX.

Progress of the Mission after Mrs. Judson's Death—Mr. Boardman joins the Mission—Dr. Price's Death, - - - 279

CHAPTER XX.

Present State of the Mission—New Station formed at Tavoy, 289

CHAPTER XXI.

Concluding Remarks—Mrs. Judson's Address to American Females, - - - - - - - - - - - 314

... humani nil a me alienum puto,"
received with loud plaudits by the audience.

27
89
90
91
92
93
26
25
24
23
22
21
Burampooter R.
Beyhar
Kumptee
Newgong
Coulparra
Cwahatty
Ongsaye
GARROWS
Genthahpr
Sylhet
Dacca
Agurtola
Kishengunge
CALCUTTA
Luckipoor
Ramgur
Islamabad or Chittagong
Chittagong
Mouths of the Ganges
Ramoo
R.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

Her Birth, Education, and Conversion.

"I AM a man, and feel a concern in every thing that relates to mankind," was the generous sentiment of a Roman poet,* which touched a kindred chord even in the bosoms of his iron hearted countrymen. It is this universal sympathy which has always given a charm to Biography. The earliest human compositions were narratives of the exploits and adventures of distinguished individuals. History, which has been called "philosophy teaching by example," owes the greater part of its usefulness and interest, to its sketches of individual character, and its details of private conduct. And the inspired volume has this additional evidence of its origin from Him who knows what is in man, that a large portion of it consists of Biography. The life and the death of many, both of the enemies and of the friends of God, are here recorded, to teach mankind, in the most emphatick manner, the happiness which springs from piety, and the folly of those who *know not God, and obey not the Gospel.*

It is remarkable, too, that Jehovah has thought proper to mention, in his word, with honourable commendation, many "holy women," whose lives displayed the excellence of religion, and whose zeal in duty, firmness in suffering, and intrepidity in danger, entitle them to rank among the noble band, *of whom the world was not worthy.* The Bi-

* Terence. The well known words,

"Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto,"

were received with loud plaudits by the audience.

BURMAH.
CHINA
CARROWS
KATHEENS
LOWAVANS
YUNSHAN
BAY OF BENGAL
Irrawaddy R.
Salween R.
Gulf of Siam
Sittang R.
Pegu
Rangoon
Martaban
Tavoy
Mergui
Amherst
Sittang
Bassein
Prince of Wales I.
Cheduba I.
Negrais C.
Diamond I.
Table I.
Sullivan I.
Preparis I.
Ramree I.
Cheduba
Andaman I.
Nicobar I.
Tenasserim
Siam
Calcutta
Mouths of the Ganges
Mouths of the Irrawaddy
Brahmapooter R.

ble, though written in a part of the earth where the female character is undervalued, is full of testimony to the moral and intellectual worth of woman. It is no small evidence of its divine origin, that it thus rises above a prejudice which seems to be universal, except where the Bible has dispelled it. Christianity alone teaches the true rank of women; and secures to the loveliest and best portion of our race the respect and influence which belong to them.

But no precedent nor argument is needed to justify the publication of a Memoir of Mrs. Judson. Those who have acquired any knowledge of her character are, it is believed, desirous to know more; and all the friends of Missions must wish to trace the progress of a life which has been so closely connected with the history of the Burman Mission.

Mrs. Ann H. Judson was the daughter of Mr. John and Mrs. Rebecca Hasseltine. She was born December 22, 1789, at Bradford, (Massachusetts) where her venerable parents yet reside.

It has been said, that the character of men is formed by the education which they receive; the companions among whom they are placed; the pursuits to which they are led by inclination or necessity; and the general circumstances of the situation into which accident or choice may have guided them.

This opinion, though doubtless it derives some plausibility from the undeniable effects of education, of example, and of the numberless other influences which affect the minds and the hearts of men, is yet untrue, in regard both to the intellectual and moral character. Neither the reason nor the affections are so obsequious to the power of external circumstances, as readily to take any new shape and direction.

There exist, without doubt, in the original structure of every mind, the distinctive elements of the future character. Favourable opportunities may be needed, to develope this character, but they cannot alone create it. The "village Hampden," or the "mute inglorious Milton," may exist, in many a hamlet; and the call of an oppressed country, or the inspirations of learning, might arouse, and summon them forth to action, but could not bestow the noble patriotism of the one, nor the genius of the other.

It is for this reason, that men feel a curiosity to learn something of the early years of individuals, distinguished either by uncommon qualities, or by remarkable actions.

It seems to be thought, that such individuals must have exhibited, in childhood, some of the traits which marked their matured character. It gives no surprise to the admirers of Pope, to learn that he "lisped in numbers;" and those who were charmed and moved by the eloquence of Massillon, or Whitefield, would readily believe, that the former was accustomed, while a boy, to repeat to his schoolfellows the sermons which he had heard; and that the latter composed discourses while he served, at an early age, as the waiter at an inn.

The lamented individual, a sketch of whose life is attempted in the following pages, was known to the publick, almost wholly as a Missionary. But every one, who feels a concern to know what she did and suffered, in the performance of her publick office, will be desirous to learn some facts relating to her early life, and some details of her personal history. These will naturally be expected to shed light on her publick character, and to strengthen the interest with which her eventful course will be followed.

It is a cause of regret, that the means of gratifying this natural curiosity are so few and scanty. The reasons have already been explained, why no more of the productions of her pen have been preserved; and the reader may easily imagine the difficulty of gathering the fugitive recollections which yet linger in the memory of her friends. From this source, however, a few facts have been collected.

In her earliest years, she was distinguished by activity of mind, extreme gaiety, a strong relish for social amusements, and unusually ardent feelings. She possessed that spirit of enterprise, that fertility in devising plans for the attainment of her wishes, and that indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of her purposes, of which her subsequent life furnished so many examples, and created so frequent occasions. Her restless spirit, while a child, was often restrained by her mother; and the salutary prohibitions which this excellent parent was sometimes forced to impose, occasioned so much grief, that Mrs. Hasseltine once said to her, "I hope, my daughter, you will one day be satisfied with rambling."

An eager thirst for knowledge is commonly the attendant, and often the parent, of a restless, enterprising disposition. It was so in the case of Mrs. Judson. She loved learning, and a book could allure her from her favourite walks, and from the gayest social circle. The desire for knowledge is often found in connexion with moderate in-

tellectual faculties; and in such cases, with favourable opportunities, the individual may make a respectable proficiency in learning. But this desire is almost invariably an attribute of eminent mental powers; and the person thus happily endowed, needs nothing but industry and adequate means, to ensure the attainment of the highest degree of literary excellence.

Mrs. Judson's mind was of a superior order. It was distinguished by strength, activity and clearness. She has, indeed, left no memorials, which can be produced, as fair specimens of her talents and literary acquirements. She wrote much, but her writings have perished, except letters and accounts of missionary proceedings, written without any design to exhibit her abilities, or display her learning. But no one can review her life, and read what she has written and published, without feeling that her mind possessed unusual vigour and cultivation.

She was educated at the Academy in Bradford, a seminary which has become hallowed by her memory, and by that of Mrs. Newell, the proto-martyr of the American Missions. Here she pursued her studies with much success. Her perceptions were rapid, her memory retentive, and her perseverance indefatigable. Here she laid the foundations of her knowledge, and here her intellect was stimulated, disciplined, and directed. Her preceptors and associates ever regarded her with respect and esteem; and considered her ardent temperament, her decision and perseverance, and her strength of mind, as ominous of some uncommon destiny.

Her religious character, however, is of the most importance, in itself, and in connexion with her future life. The readers of this Memoir will feel the deepest concern, to trace the rise and progress of that spiritual renovation, and that divine teaching, which made her a disciple of the Saviour, and prepared her for her labours in his service.

Of this momentous change, the following account, written by herself, has happily been rescued from the fate which befel the greater part of her private journals:—

"During the first sixteen years of my life, I very seldom felt any serious impressions, which I think were produced by the Holy Spirit. I was early taught by my mother (though she was then ignorant of the nature of true religion) the importance of abstaining from those vices, to which children are liable—as telling falsehoods, disobeying my parents, taking what was not my own, &c. She

also taught me, that if I were a good child, I should, at death, escape that dreadful hell, the thought of which sometimes filled me with alarm and terror. I, therefore, made it a matter of conscience to avoid the above-mentioned sins, to say my prayers night and morning, and to abstain from my usual play on the Sabbath, not doubting, but that such a course of conduct would ensure my salvation.

"At the age of twelve or thirteen, I attended the academy at Bradford, where I was exposed to many more temptations than before, and found it much more difficult to pursue my pharisaical method. I now began to attend balls and parties of pleasure, and found my mind completely occupied with what I daily heard were "innocent amusements." My conscience reproved me, not for engaging in these amusements, but for neglecting to say my prayers and read my Bible, on returning from them; but I finally put a stop to its remonstrances, by thinking, that, as I was old enough to attend balls, I was surely too old to say prayers. Thus were my fears quieted; and for two or three years, I scarcely felt an anxious thought relative to the salvation of my soul, though I was rapidly verging towards eternal ruin. My disposition was gay in the extreme; my situation was such as afforded me opportunities for indulging it to the utmost; I was surrounded with associates, wild and volatile like myself, and often thought myself one of the happiest creatures on earth.

"The first circumstance, which, in any measure, awakened me from this sleep of death, was the following. One Sabbath morning, having prepared myself to attend publick worship, just as I was leaving my toilet, I accidentally took up Hannah More's Strictures on Female Education; and the first words that caught my eye were, *She that liveth in pleasure, is dead while she liveth.* They were written in italicks, with marks of admiration; and they struck me to the heart. I stood for a few moments, amazed at the incident, and half inclined to think, that some invisible agency had directed my eye to those words. At first, I thought I would live a different life, and be more serious and sedate; but at last I thought, that the words were not so applicable to me, as I first imagined, and resolved to think no more of them.

"In the course of a few months (at the age of fifteen,) I met with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. I read it as a Sabbath book, and was much interested in the story. I finish-

ed the book on a Sabbath, and it left this impression on my mind—that Christian, because he adhered to the narrow path, was carried safely through all his trials, and at last admitted into heaven. I resolved, from that moment, to begin a religious life; and in order to keep my resolutions, I went to my chamber and prayed for divine assistance. When I had done, I felt pleased with myself, and thought I was in a fair way for heaven. But I was perplexed to know what it was to live a religious life, and again had recourse to my system of works. The first step, that appeared necessary for me to take, was, to refrain from attending parties of pleasure, and be reserved and serious in the presence of the other scholars. Accordingly, on Monday morning, I went to school, with a determination to keep my resolution, and confident that I should. I had not been long in school, before one of the young ladies, an intimate friend of mine, came with a very animated countenance, and told me, that Miss —— in a neighbouring town, was to have a splendid party on new year's day, and that she and I were included in the party selected. I coolly replied, that I should not go, though I did receive an invitation. She seemed surprised, and asked me what was the matter. I replied, that I should never again attend such a party. I continued of the same opinion during the day, and felt much pleased with such a good opportunity of trying myself. Monday evening, the daughters of —— sent in to invite me and my sisters to spend the evening with them and make a family visit. I hesitated a little, but considering that it was to be a family party merely, I thought I could go without breaking my resolutions. Accordingly I went, and found that two or three other families of young ladies had been invited. Dancing was soon introduced; my religious plans were forgotten; I joined with the rest—was one of the gayest of the gay—and thought no more of the new life I had just begun. On my return home, I found an invitation from Miss —— in waiting, and accepted it at once. My conscience let me pass quietly through the amusements of that evening also; but when I retired to my chamber, on my return, it accused me of breaking my most solemn resolutions. I thought I should never dare to make others, for I clearly saw, that I was unable to keep them.

"From December, 1805 to April, 1806, I scarcely spent a rational hour. My studies were slightly attended to, and my time was mostly occupied in preparing my dress, and

in contriving amusements for the evening, which portion of my time was wholly spent in vanity and trifling. I so far surpassed my friends in gaiety and mirth, that some of them were apprehensive, that I had but a short time to continue in my career of folly, and should be suddenly cut off. Thus passed the last winter of my gay life.

"In the spring of 1806, there appeared a little attention to religion, in the upper parish of Bradford. Religious conferences had been appointed, during the winter, and I now began to attend them regularly. I often used to weep, when hearing the minister, and others, press the importance of improving the present favourable season, to obtain an interest in Christ, lest we should have to say, *The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.* I thought I should be one of that number; for though I now deeply felt the importance of being strictly religious, it appeared to me impossible I could be so, while in the midst of my gay associates. I generally sought some retired corner of the room, in which the meetings were held, lest others should observe the emotions I could not restrain; but frequently after being much affected through the evening, I would return home, in company with some of my light companions, and assume an air of gaiety very foreign to my heart. The Spirit of God was now evidently operating on my mind: I lost all relish for amusements; felt melancholy and dejected; and the solemn truth, that I must obtain a new heart, or perish forever, lay with weight on my mind. My preceptor was a pious man, and used frequently to make serious remarks in the family. One Sabbath evening, speaking of the operations of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of sinners, a subject with which I had been hitherto unacquainted, he observed, that when under these operations, Satan frequently tempted us to conceal our feelings from others, lest our conviction should increase. I could hear him say no more; but rose from my seat, and went into the garden, that I might weep in secret over my deplorable state. I felt, that I was led captive by Satan at his will, and that he had entire control over me. And notwithstanding I knew this to be my situation, I thought I would not have any of my acquaintance know that I was under serious impressions, for the whole world. The ensuing week, I had engaged to be one of a party to visit a young lady in a neighbouring town, who had formerly attended the academy. The state of my mind was such, that I earnestly longed to be free from this

engagement, but knew not how to gain my end, without telling the real reason. This I could not persuade myself to do; but concluded, on the morning of the appointed day, to absent myself from my father's home, and visit an aunt, who lived at some distance, and who was, I had heard, under serious impressions. I went accordingly, and found my aunt engaged in reading a religious magazine. I was determined she should not know the state of my mind, though I secretly hoped, that she would tell me something of hers. I had not been with her long, before she asked me to read to her. I began, but could not govern my feelings, and burst into tears. She kindly begged to know what thus affected me. I then, for the first time in my life, communicated feelings which I had determined should be known to none but myself. She urged the importance of my cherishing those feelings, and of devoting myself entirely to seeking an interest in Christ, before it should be forever too late. She told me, that if I trifled with impressions which were evidently made by the Holy Spirit, I should be left to hardness of heart and blindness of mind. Her words penetrated my heart, and I felt resolved to give up every thing, and seek to be reconciled to God. That fear, which I had ever felt, that others would know that I was serious, now vanished away, and I was willing that the whole universe should know that I felt myself to be a lost and perishing sinner. I returned home, with a bursting heart, fearing that I should lose my impressions, when associated with the other scholars, and convinced, that if I did, my soul was lost. As I entered my father's house, I perceived a large party of the scholars assembled to spend the evening. It will be the height of rudeness, thought I, to leave the company; but my second thought was, if I lose my soul, I lose my all. I spoke to one or two, passed through the room, and went to my chamber, where I spent the evening, full of anxiety and distress. I felt, that if I died in that situation, I must perish; but how to extricate myself I knew not. I had been unaccustomed to discriminating preaching; I had not been in the habit of reading religious books; I could not understand the Bible; and felt myself as perfectly ignorant of the nature of true religion, as the very heathen. In this extremity, the next morning, I ventured to ask the preceptor what I should do. He told me to pray for mercy, and submit myself to God. He also put into my hands some religious magazines, in which I

read the conviction and conversion of some, who, I perceived, had once felt as I now felt. I shut myself up in my chamber, denied myself every innocent gratification; such as eating fruit and other things, not absolutely necessary to support life, and spent my days in reading and crying for mercy. But I had seen, as yet, very little of the awful wickedness of my heart. I knew not yet the force of that passage, *The carnal mind is enmity against God.* I thought myself very penitent, and almost prepared by voluntary abstinence, to receive the divine favour. After spending two or three weeks in this manner, without obtaining the least comfort, my heart began to rise in rebellion against God. I thought it unjust in him, not to notice my prayers and my repentance. I could not endure the thought, that he was a sovereign God, and had a right to call one and leave another to perish. So far from being merciful in calling some, I thought it cruel in him to send any of his creatures to hell for their disobedience. But my chief distress was occasioned by a view of his perfect purity and holiness. My heart was filled with aversion and hatred towards a *holy* God; and I felt, that if admitted into heaven, with the feelings I then had, I should be as miserable, as I could be in hell. In this state, I longed for annihilation; and if I could have destroyed the existence of my soul, with as much ease as that of my body, I should quickly have done it. But that glorious Being, who is kinder to his creatures, than they are to themselves, did not leave me to remain long in this distressing state. I began to discover a beauty in the way of salvation by Christ. He appeared to be just such a Saviour as I needed. I saw how God could be just, in saving sinners through him. I committed my soul into his hands, and besought him to do with me what seemed good in his sight. When I was thus enabled to commit myself into the hands of Christ, my mind was relieved from that distressing weight which had borne it down for so long a time. I did not think, that I had obtained the new heart, which I had been seeking, but felt happy in contemplating the character of Christ, and particularly that disposition, which led him to suffer so much, for the sake of doing the will and promoting the glory of his heavenly Father. A few days after this, as I was reading Bellamy's True Religion, I obtained a new view of the character of God. His justice, displayed in condemning the finally impenitent, which I had before viewed as cruel, now appeared to be an expression of hatred

to sin, and regard to the good of beings in general. A view of his purity and holiness filled my soul with wonder and admiration. I felt a disposition to commit myself unreservedly into his hands, and leave it with him to save me or cast me off, for I felt I could not be unhappy, while allowed the privilege of contemplating and loving so glorious a Being. I now began to hope, that I had passed from death unto life. When I examined myself, I was constrained to own, that I had feelings and dispositions, to which I was formerly an utter stranger. I had sweet communion with the blessed God, from day to day; my heart was drawn out in love to christians of whatever denomination; the sacred Scriptures were sweet to my taste; and such was my thirst for religious knowledge, that I frequently spent a great part of the night in reading religious books. O how different were my views of myself and of God, from what they were, when I first began to inquire what I should do to be saved. I felt myself to be a poor lost sinner, destitute of every thing to recommend myself to the divine favour; that I was, by nature, inclined to every evil way; and that it had been the mere sovereign, restraining mercy of God, not my own goodness, which had kept me from committing the most flagrant crimes. This view of myself humbled me in the dust, melted me into sorrow and contrition for my sins, induced me to lay my soul at the feet of Christ, and plead his merits alone, as the ground of my acceptance. I felt that if Christ had not died, to make an atonement for sin, I could not ask God to dishonour his holy government so far as to save so polluted a creature, and that should he even now condemn me to suffer eternal punishment, it would be so just, that my mouth would be stopped, and all holy beings in the universe would acquiesce in the sentence, and praise him, as a just and righteous God. My chief happiness now consisted in contemplating the moral perfections of the glorious God. I longed to have all intelligent creatures love him; and felt, that even fallen spirits could never be released from their obligations to love a Being possessed of such glorious perfections. I felt happy in the consideration, that so benevolent a Being governed the world, and ordered every passing event. I lost all disposition to murmur at any providence, assured that such a Being could not err in any dispensation. Sin, in myself and others, appeared as that abominable thing, which a holy God hates,—and I earnestly strove to avoid sinning, not merely because I was afraid of hell,

but because I feared to displease God, and grieve his Holy Spirit. I attended my studies in school, with far different feelings and different motives, from what I had ever done before. I felt my obligation to improve all I had to the glory of God; and since he in his providence had favoured me with advantages for improving my mind, I felt that I should be like the slothful servant, if I neglected them. I, therefore, diligently employed all my hours in school, in acquiring useful knowledge, and spent my evenings and part of the night in spiritual enjoyments.

"While thus recounting the mercies of God to my soul, I am particularly affected by two considerations; the richness of that grace, which called and stopped me in my dangerous course, and the ungrateful returns I make for so distinguished a blessing. I am prone to forget the voice which called me out of darkness into light, and the hand which drew me from the horrible pit and the miry clay. When I first discerned my deliverer, my grateful heart offered him the services of a whole life, and resolved to acknowledge no other master. But such is the force of my native depravity, that I find myself prone to forsake him, grieve away his influence from my heart, and walk in the dark and dreary path of the backslider. I despair of making great attainments in the divine life, and look forward to death only, to free me from my sins and corruptions. Till that blessed period, that hour of my emancipation, I am resolved, through the grace and strength of my Redeemer, to maintain a constant warfare with my inbred sins, and endeavour to perform the duties incumbent on me, in whatever situation I may be placed.

'Safely guide my wandering feet,
Travelling in this vale of tears;
Dearest Saviour, to thy seat
Lead, and dissipate my fears.'"

The change in her feelings and views, which she has thus described, was a thorough and permanent one. She immediately entered on the duties, and sought for the pleasures, of religion, with all the ardour of her natural character. Several letters to her young friends, written soon after this period, have been preserved. They are almost exclusively confined to religious topicks; and some of them, addressed to individuals who had not then made the Saviour their refuge, breathe an earnest desire for their welfare, and a faithfulness in beseeching them to repent of their sins and believe in the Redeemer, which

indicate the early workings of the same zeal that afterwards led her to Burmah.

"Redeeming love," says an intimate friend, "was now her theme. One might spend days with her, without hearing any other subject reverted to. The throne of grace, too, was her early and late resort. I have known her to spend cold winter evenings in a chamber without fire, and return to the family with a solemnity spread over her countenance, which told of Him with whom she had been communing. Nor was her love of social pleasures diminished, although the complexion of them was completely changed. Even at this late period I fancy I see her, with strong feeling depicted on her countenance, inclining over her Bible, rising to place it on the stand, retiring to her chamber, and after a season of prayer, proceeding to visit this and that family, to speak of him whom her soul loved. She thirsted for the knowledge of gospel truth, in all its relations and dependencies. Besides the daily study of Scripture, with Guise, Orton, and Scott before her, she perused with deep interest the works of Edwards, Hopkins, Bellamy, Doddridge, &c. With Edwards on Redemption, she was instructed, quickened, strengthened. Well do I remember the elevated smile which beamed on her countenance, when she first spoke to me of its precious contents. She had transcribed, with her own hand, Edwards' leading and most striking remarks on this great subject. When reading scripture, sermons, or other works, if she met with any sentiment or doctrine, which seemed dark and intricate, she would mark it, and beg the first clergyman, who called at her father's, to elucidate and explain it."

Her religious feelings were nevertheless affected by the same fluctuations as those of other Christians. The fervour of her affections made her, indeed, more liable than persons of a more equable temperament, to the changes, which physical as well as moral causes occasion in the spiritual joys of Christians. Her piety did not consist in feeling; but there is no true religion without feeling: and the heart which has ever been suitably affected by the stupendous truths and hopes of Christianity, cannot be satisfied with a dull insensibility, or even with a calm equanimity. There will be a consciousness of disproportion between the subjects which Christianity presents to the mind, and the feelings which they awaken; and the self reproach that will

thus be occasioned, will be increased, by a recollection of the strong affections and lively joys which the heart experienced in the ardour of its first love. Every believer has frequent occasion to accuse himself of a want of lively sensibility to his privileges and duties; and while he can look back to seasons when he was more zealous in his piety, and when his enjoyment of religious pleasures was greater than at present, he will fear that he has receded instead of advancing. He will deplore his unfaithfulness and coldness, and will write "bitter things" against himself.

The fragments of Mrs. Judson's journal contain many details of these alternations of joy and sorrow, of hope and self-accusation, of which all Christians are, in some degree, partakers. A few extracts will now be inserted:

"*July* 30, 1806. I find my heart cold and hard. I fear there is no spiritual life in me. I am in an unhappy state, for nothing in life can afford me satisfaction, without the light of God's countenance. Why is my heart so far from thee, O God, when it is my highest happiness to enjoy thy presence! Let me no more wander from thee; but

> 'Send down thy Spirit from above,
> And fill my soul with sacred love.'

"*Aug.* 5. Were it left to my choice, whether to follow the vanities of the world, and go to heaven at last, or to live a religious life, have trials with sin and temptation, and sometimes enjoy the light of God's reconciled countenance, I should not hesitate a moment in choosing the latter; for there is no real satisfaction in the enjoyments of time and sense. If the young, in the midst of their diversions, could picture to themselves the Saviour hanging on the cross, his hands and feet streaming with blood, his head pierced with thorns, his body torn with scourges, and reflect that by their wicked lives, they open those wounds afresh, they would feel constrained to repent, and cry for mercy on their souls. O my God, let me never more join with the wicked world, or take enjoyment in any thing short of conformity to thy holy will! May I ever keep in mind the solemn day, when I shall appear before thee! May I ever flee to the bleeding Saviour, as my only refuge, and renouncing my own righteousness, may I rely entirely on the righteousness of thy dear Son!

"*Aug.* 6. I have many doubts about my spiritual state. I fear I do not really love the divine character; and if not, what a dreadful situation I am in! And is it possible, that I have never given myself away to God in sincerity and truth? I will do it now. In thy strength, O God, I resign myself into thy hands, and resolve to live devoted to thee. I desire conformity to thy will, more than any thing beside. I desire to have the Spirit of Christ, to be adorned with all the christian graces, to be more engaged in the cause of Christ, and feel more concerned for the salvation of precious souls.

"*Aug.* 31. Another Sabbath is past. Have attended publick worship, but with wandering thoughts. O how depraved I find my heart! Yet I cannot think of going back to the world, and renouncing my Saviour. O merciful God, save me from myself, and enable me to commit myself entirely to thee.

"*Sept.* 2. I have discovered new beauties in the way of salvation by Christ. The righteousness which he has wrought out is complete, and he is able to save the chief of sinners. But above all, his wondrous dying love, and glorious resurrection, astonish my soul. How can I ever sin against this Saviour again? O keep me from sinning against thee, dear Redeemer, and enable me to live to the promotion of thy glory.

"*Sept.* 14. I have, this day, publickly professed myself a disciple of Christ, and covenanted with him, at his sacred table.* I am now renewedly bound to keep his commandments, and walk in his steps. O may this solemn covenant never be broken. May I be guarded from the vanities of this life, and spend all my days in the service of God. O keep me, merciful God, keep me; for I have no strength of my own; I shall dishonour thy cause and ruin my soul, unless guided by thee.

"*Nov.* 3. Another day, for which I must give an account, has gone into eternity. It will appear, on the great day, dressed in the very garb which I have given it. Spent the evening with my young religious friends and Mr. P. whose conversation was remarkably solemn. He advised us to make resolutions, for the government of our daily conduct. I feel myself unable to keep any resolutions that I may make; but humbly relying on the grace of God for assistance, I will try. I do desire to live wholly

*She became a member of the Congregational Church in Bradford.

devoted to God, and to have every sin in my heart entirely slain.

"O thou God of all grace, I humbly beseech thee to enable me to keep the following resolutions:—When I first awake, solemnly devote myself to God, for the day. Read several passages of Scriptures, and then spend as long time in prayer, as circumstances permit. Read two chapters in the Old Testament, and one in the New, and meditate thereon. Attend to the duties of my chamber. If I have no needle work to do, read in some religious book. At school, diligently attend to the duties before me, and let not one moment pass unimproved. At noon, read a portion of Scripture, pray for the blessing of God, and spend the remainder of the intermission, in reading some improving or religious book. In all my studies, be careful to maintain an humble dependance on divine assistance. In the evening, if I attend a religious meeting, or any other place for instruction, before going, read a portion of Scripture. If not, spend the evening in reading, and close the day as I began. Resolve also to strive against the *first risings* of discontent, fretfulness and anger; to be meek, and humble, and patient, constantly to bear in mind, that I am in the presence of God; habitually to look up to him for deliverance from temptations; and in all cases, to do to others, as I would have them do to me.

"*Nov.* 6. I daily make some new discoveries of the vileness and evil of my heart. I sometimes fear, that it is impossible for a spark of grace to exist in a heart so full of sin. Nothing but the power of God can keep me from returning to the world, and becoming as vain as ever. But still I see a beauty in the character of Christ, that makes me ardently desire to be like him. All the commands of God appear perfectly right and reasonable, and sin appears so odious as to deserve eternal punishment. O how deplorable would be my situation, thus covered with sin, was it not for the atonement Christ has made. But he is my Mediator with the Father. He has magnified the law and made it honourable. He can save sinners, consistently with the divine glory. God can now be just, and the justifier of those who believe in his Son.

"*Nov.* 26. This is the evening before thanksgiving day, and one which I formerly spent in making preparation for some vain amusement. But for the first time in my life, I have spent it in reading and praying, and endeavouring to obtain a suitable frame of mind for the approaching day.

How much reason have I to be thankful for what God has done for me, the year past. He has preserved my forfeited life; he has waited to be gracious; he has given me kind friends, and all the comforts of life; and more than all, he has sent his Holy Spirit, and caused me to feel my lost condition by nature—inclined me to trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, as my only Saviour, and thus changed the whole course of my life. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name!

"*Dec.* 22. I am this day, seventeen years old. What an important year has the past been to me. Either I have been made, through the mercy of God, a partaker of divine grace, or I have been fatally deceiving myself, and building on a sandy foundation. Either I have in sincerity and truth, renounced the vanities of this world, and entered the narrow path which leads to life, or I have been refraining from them for a time only, to turn again and relish them more than ever. God grant that the latter may never be my unhappy case. Though I feel myself to be full of sin, and destitute of all strength to persevere, yet if I know any thing, I do desire to live a life of strict religion, to enjoy the presence of God, and honour the cause, to which I have professedly devoted myself. I do not desire my portion in this world. I find more real enjoyment in contrition for sin, excited by a view of the adorable moral perfections of God, than in all earthly joys. I find more solid happiness in one evening meeting, when divine truths are impressed on my heart by the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit, than I ever enjoyed in all the balls and assemblies I have attended during the seventeen years of my life. Thus when I compare my present views of divine things, with what they were, at this time last year, I cannot but hope I am a new creature, and have begun to live a new life.

"*April* 11. Now I know that God is a prayer hearing God. When I retired this evening to spend some time in prayer, I found I had no heart to pray, I could pray for nothing but a spirit of prayer; when, contrary to all my expectations, my feelings were suddenly changed, and I obtained great freedom of access to the mercy seat. I felt it good to draw near to God, and pour out my soul before him. Astonishing love and unbounded benevolence, in the infinite God, thus to let his creatures come near, and partake of the happiness which he himself enjoys. O Jesus, make me humble; let me love thee more, and be daily more devoted to thy dear cause,

"*April* 12. Sabbath. Have this holy day enjoyed the privilege of commemorating the dying love of Christ. O how condescending did the divine Redeemer appear! I felt my heart drawn out in love to God for his great goodness to the children of men. Five new members were added to the church. How animating to see so many come over to the Lord's side, and subscribe to be his. And was I indeed called at an early age, called in the bloom of youth, to be a partaker of the grace of God? I, who was opposed to every thing good—who was a faithful servant of the adversary of souls? How easily might I have been left to go on in my own chosen way, till repentance was too late. How earnestly do I now desire to live entirely devoted to the service of Christ, to express my gratitude, by keeping his commands, and living near to him. But alas, notwithstanding all he has done for me, so depraved is my heart, and so inclined to every evil, that I shall wander from God, grieve his Spirit, wound his cause, and destroy my soul, unless kept by his mighty power. On sovereign grace alone I rely for grace and strength to persevere.

"*April* 18. Too much engaged in worldly things. Worldly thoughts will creep in, and destroy my religious comfort. I have much to make me constantly devoted, yet I am comparatively stupid. I am surrounded by a wicked world, where vice and immorality are prevailing, and very little real religion to be found. Lord, take care of thine own cause, and let not the enemy be exalted over thy people. O take care of thy children, and animate them with thy presence in the wilderness."

These extracts are sufficient to show the exercises of her mind, for some months after her conversion. We have omitted a considerable portion, because our space is limited, and because we think that much caution ought to be used, in disclosing to the publick eye the private feelings of the Christian. In the bosom of every true believer, hope predominates; but many causes often throw a cloud over his joys, and sometimes obscure the brightness of hope itself.* At such times, he may doubt that he is a Christian, and if he records or utters his feelings, they have a tone of sadness and despondency, which is in mel-

* These causes sometimes have their origin in the disorders of the body. Dr. Johnson, Cowper and others, are examples of the power of disease to disturb the mind, and interrupt the tranquil tenour of religious enjoyments.

ancholy contrast with the state of his mind at other times, when the candle of the Lord shines upon his head. Some Christians, too, possess a sanguine temperament, which impels them continually to extremes. A journal of their daily experience would depict them, on one day, as rejoicing and steadfast believers, and on the next, perhaps, as harassed with doubts, not only of their personal piety, but of the truth of Christianity itself; it would show them, at one time, as *fervent in spirit, serving the Lord*, and at another, as criminally *conformed to this world*. It may, perhaps, be sometimes useful to the Christian to peruse such statements of the feelings of others; because they inform him, that his own joys and sorrows correspond with those of other Christians, and that occasional doubts and fears are not incompatible with genuine piety and prevailing hope. God himself has seen fit to give us in his word, the spiritual exercises of several eminent saints, and especially of David, who seems to have been placed in almost every variety of human condition, and to have been visited with trials of every kind to which our nature is subject, that he might be an example to all future saints, and that his feelings and experience, as displayed in his Psalms, might comfort and instruct the Church in every age.

But the complaints and self reproaches of uninspired saints, may possibly be injurious to some professors of religion by lowering the standard of piety, and appeasing their consciences for their own deficiencies. And the enemies of religion are liable to regard them as inexplicable inconsistencies, and as proofs that religion is the parent of melancholy, and is devoid of permanent and tranquil happiness.

The following letter from Mrs. J. written at an early period of her religious life, shows how correctly she *thought*, in relation to the exercises of a renewed heart. She here explains the cause of much of her own darkness of mind, and self distrust. Growth in grace requires an increasing acquaintance with the nature of sin, and of our unworthiness; and this knowledge will be likely to darken and distress the mind, unless faith be strong, and the efficacy of the atonement be very clearly discerned.

To Miss L. K.

"*Newbury, Sept.* 20, 1807.

"You requested me, dear L, to write soon after my return. With pleasure I comply, as it fixes you in my imagi-

nation, and gives me sensations almost as pleasing as a verbal intercourse. O may that Spirit which unites the hearts of the children of God in love, direct my thoughts, and guide my pen to write that which may be useful in our journey to another world. You ask, "what are the evidences of growth in grace." From reading the lives of pious people, and the word of God, I have come to the following conclusion, though different from my ideas formerly.

"A person who grows in grace, will see more and more of the dreadful wickedness of his heart. He will find it more opposed to every thing good, more deceitful and fickle. When Isaiah saw more of God and his glory, his first expressions were not, I am more like God because I have seen more of him; but his language was this, *Wo is me, for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips.* The more grace Christians have, the clearer they can see the contrast between holiness and sin; and while it leads them to hunger, thirst, and strive for the one, it leads them to loathe, abhor, and mourn for the other. Growth in grace will consequently lead them to know more about Jesus Christ, and the great need they have of him for a whole Saviour. He will appear to them daily more needful as a prophet, priest and king, his character more lovely, and his spirit more desirable. They also feel more for the worth of souls. As they are convinced daily of the dreadful nature of sin, so they will feel more anxious to save sinners from the consequences of it. This will necessarily lead them to pray more often, earnestly and fervently, give them a disrelish for the vanities of the world, and a sincere and hearty desire to devote all they have to him, and serve him entirely. But one great evidence is not yet mentioned, perhaps the greatest. They will be constantly watching, and endeavouring to find whether they grow in grace. They will watch their improvement from time to time, in every portion of holy writ which they read, every sermon they hear, and the providences which occur, either afflictive or the contrary.

"These, dear L, are my ideas respecting the subject. There are many other evidences, but these are sufficient, if true, to convince us whether we make any improvement in a divine life. If we have made none under the rich cultivation we have enjoyed, then we may be sure we are unacquainted with that path which is as a *shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.*"

Mrs. Judson, early in her religious life, showed her desire to be useful to her fellow men. Her active mind was not satisfied without some effort to benefit those around her. She accordingly engaged, soon after this period, in the occupation of instructing a school, impelled mainly by the desire to be useful. There are few situations, which furnish better opportunities of imparting permanent benefit, than that of the instructer of a school. In New England, this office is regarded with a good degree of the honourable estimation to which it is entitled; and it is to be wished, that a larger number of educated young ladies would employ themselves in a service so beneficial to their own minds, and so vitally important to the rising generation.

The following extract from Mrs. Judson's journal, dated May 12, 1807, shows the conscientious principles which actuated her; and proves that her mind was thus early swayed by the resolution to *live not unto herself, but to him who died for her, and rose again.* Her zeal for the spiritual welfare of others, and her decision of character, are here seen, in a very striking light:

"Have taken charge of a few scholars. Ever since I have had a comfortable hope in Christ, I have desired to devote myself to him, in such a way, as to be useful to my fellow creatures. As Providence has placed me in a situation of life, where I have an opportunity of getting as good an education as I desire, I feel it would be highly criminal in me not to improve it. I feel also, that it would be equally criminal to desire to be well educated and accomplished, from selfish motives, with a view merely to gratify my taste and relish for improvement, or my pride in being qualified to shine. I therefore resolved last winter, to attend the academy, from no other motive, than to improve the talents bestowed by God, so as to be more extensively devoted to his glory, and the benefit of my fellow creatures. On being lately requested to take a small school, for a few months, I felt very unqualified to have the charge of little immortal souls; but the hope of doing them good, by endeavouring to impress their young and tender minds with divine truth, and the obligation I feel, *to try to be useful*, have induced me to comply. I was enabled to open the school with prayer. Though the cross was very great, I felt constrained, by a sense of duty, to take it up. The little creatures seemed astonished at such a beginning. Probably some of them had never heard a prayer before. O may I have grace to be faithful, in instructing these little immor-

tals, in such a way as shall be pleasing to my heavenly Father."

She was engaged, at intervals, for several years, in teaching schools, in different towns. * She was always diligent and faithful in her endeavours to enlighten the minds and to form the manners of her pupils; but she regarded the *fear of the Lord as the beginning of wisdom;* and she strove to guide her dear pupils to the Saviour. She felt herself to be intrusted, in some measure, with the charge of their souls; and she watched for them as one that must give account. It is believed, that her prayers and efforts were not in vain; and that some of her pupils in this country will mingle their praises, before the throne of the Redeemer, with those of ransomed Burmans, adoring him for her instrumentality in leading them to repentance and faith in his name.

From her journal, we select a few additional extracts, which will show the state of her feelings, and the progress of her piety.

"*June* 12. For a week or two past, have had very little enjoyment in religion, and almost every duty has appeared burdensome. But praised be God, I have enjoyed much, yesterday and to-day. I find, that reading the exercises of Miss Anthony has a great tendency to humble me, and quicken my spiritual life. I long to possess her spirit, and be as much engaged in the service of God, as that dear saint was. I feel an attachment to her, stronger than I ever felt for any person, while I was in an unconverted state. If love to the children of God is an evidence of having been born again, I have reason to think, that this is my happy case. I know that I love Christians, and love those most, who are most actively engaged in the cause of Christ; and at the throne of grace, I feel, at times, my soul drawn out in love to them, and in as ardent desires for their spiritual welfare, as for my own.

"17. Have had some deep sense of religion, this day. Read the life of Dr. Hopkins, of Newport. Find much edification and happiness, in reading such books. In the evening, had much conversation with some of the family, on the subject of religion. Appearances rather encouraging.

"18. Have enjoyed much to-day, while reading and meditating on the distinguishing doctrines of grace. My heart

* She taught schools in Salem, Haverhill and Newbury.

acquiesced and rejoiced in them. If I enjoy comfort in any thing, it is when I have a realizing sense of God's holy character. I feel happy, when I reflect, that God will overrule all things, for the promotion of his own glory. In my walk, this evening, my thoughts were intensely fixed on the greatness and majesty of the Supreme Being, and on the numberless sins I have committed against him. Then they turned to the glorious way of salvation, which this great and most gracious Being has provided. I desired to give myself entirely to Christ, have him for my prophet, priest and king, be entirely devoted to him, and give him all the glory of my salvation. O Jesus, ever give me such views of thyself, as shall entirely take away my thoughts from this vain world.

"*July* 6. It is just a year, this day, since I entertained a hope in Christ. About this time, in the evening, when reflecting on the words of the lepers, *If we enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there; and if we sit still here, we die also*, I felt that if I returned to the world, I should surely perish; if I staid where I then was, I should perish; and I could but perish, if I threw myself on the mercy of Christ. Then came light, and relief, and comfort, such as I never knew before. O how little have I grown in grace, since that time. How little engaged in religion am I now, compared to what I was then. Then the world had not the least share in my thoughts or heart. Nothing but religion engrossed my affections, and I thought that nothing else ever would. But though my heart is treacherous, I trust that I have some evidence of being a true Christian; for when contemplating the moral perfections of God, my heart is pleased with, and approves of just such a Being. His law, which once appeared unjust and severe, now appears holy, just and good. His justice appears equally glorious as his mercy, and illustrative of the same love to universal happiness. The way of salvation by Christ appears glorious, because herein God can be just, and yet display his mercy to the penitent sinner."

At this point, her regular journal ceases, and nothing but fragments have been preserved, concerning her subsequent views and feelings. They do not differ materially from those which have already been quoted, except that they show a gradual enlargement of desires for the prosperity of the Church of God; and indicate that God was preparing her mind for her future duties.

"*March* 17—(probably 1809.) Have had some enjoyment in reading the life of David Brainerd. It had a tendency to humble me, and excite desires to live as near to God, as that holy man did. Have spent this evening in prayer for quickening grace. Felt my heart enlarged to pray for spiritual blessings for myself, my friends, the church at large, the heathen world, and the African slaves. Felt a willingness to give myself away to Christ, to be disposed of as he pleases. Here I find safety and comfort. Jesus is my only refuge. I will trust his word, and rest my soul in his hands. I will depend on him, not only for the salvation of my soul, but for daily grace and strength to persevere in a religious course. O may I now begin to live to God.

"24. At the commencement of the last week, I had high hopes of being more engaged in religion, than ever before. But I have reason to fear, that I relied too much on my own strength. I still find cause to be humbled in the dust, for my inconstancy and rebellion. I have done little for the cause of God—too often indulged in trifling conversation. In this way, I grieve the Holy Spirit, and bring darkness upon my mind. And yet I hope, that I have had some right feelings. I would not deny what I have enjoyed, though it is but small. I have, at times, felt engaged in prayer for the prosperity of the church, and for the conversion of the heathen and Jews."

CHAPTER II.

Her Connexion with Mr. Judson.

The event, which determined the nature of her future life, was her marriage with Mr. Judson. Some particulars respecting the circumstances which led to this connexion, will now be stated. A few facts, however, in relation to Mr. Judson himself, must previously be mentioned.

He was born at Malden, (Mass.) August 9, 1788. He graduated at Brown University, in 1807. Soon afterwards he commenced making the tour of the United States. "Some providential occurrences, while on his journey, led him to doubt the truth of those deistical sentiments which he had recently adopted. His mind became so deeply impressed with the probability of the divine authenticity of

the Scriptures, that he could no longer continue his journey, but returned to his father's house, for the express purpose of examining thoroughly the foundation of the Christian religion. After continuing his investigations for some time, he became convinced that the Scriptures are of divine origin, and that he himself was in a lost situation by nature, and needed renovation previously to an admittance into heaven. It now became his sole inquiry, *What shall I do to be saved?*

"The theological seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, was about this time established; but the rules of the institution required evidence of evangelical piety in all who were admitted. Mr. Judson was desirous of entering there for the purpose of being benefitted by the theological lectures; but hardly ventured to make application, conscious that he was destitute of the proper qualifications. His ardent desire, however, to become acquainted with the religious students, and to be in a situation to gain religious instruction, overcame every obstacle, and he applied for admittance; at the same time assuring the Professors of his having no hope that he had been a subject of regenerating grace. He was, notwithstanding, admitted; and, in the course of a few weeks, gained satisfactory evidence of having obtained an interest in Christ, and turned his attention to those studies which were most calculated to make him useful in the ministry.

"Some time in the last year of his residence in this theological seminary, he met with Dr. Buchanan's "Star in the East." This first led his thoughts to an eastern mission. The subject harassed his mind from day to day, and he felt deeply impressed with the importance of making some attempt to rescue the perishing millions of the east. He communicated these impressions to various individuals, but they all discouraged him. He then wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, explaining his views, and requested information on the subject of missions. He received a most encouraging reply, and an invitation to visit England, to obtain in person the necessary information.

"Soon after this, Messrs. Nott, Newell and Hall, joined him, all of them resolving to leave their native land, and engage in the arduous work of missionaries, as soon as Providence should open the way."*

* History of the Burman Mission, p. 14.

There was, at that time, no Missionary Society, in this country, to which these young men could look for assistance and direction. The spirit of prayer and of exertion for the spread of the Gospel through the world, had not then been sufficiently diffused, to awaken the American churches to combined action for the support of foreign Missions.

The formation of a Missionary Society, in this country, was, therefore, a desirable measure. As these young men were all Congregationalists, they looked, of course, to their own denomination, for the aid which they needed. An opportunity was presented, to lay the subject before a number of the leading ministers of that denomination, at the meeting of the Massachusetts Association, at Bradford, in June, 1810. At this meeting, the following paper, written by Mr. Judson,* was presented:

"The undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their Reverend Fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries:

"They beg leave to state, that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a Mission to the Heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and they trust, a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success, and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God in his providence shall open the way.

"They now offer the following inquiries, on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this Association. Whether with their present views and feelings, they ought to re-

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* It is not the purpose of this work, to extol or to defend Mr. Judson. We shall therefore omit any notice of some unpleasant occurrences. We are not concerned to claim for him the exclusive honour of having led the way, in originating the American Board of Commissioners. This praise, however, has been attributed in unqualified terms to one of his associates. [Life of Mills, p. 37.] It is, indeed, a point of little importance, what individual is honoured by God as the instrument of signal benefits to mankind. His alone is the wisdom to inspire, and the strength to execute; and the most distinguished of his servants are made to feel, that *it is not by their might or power, but by his Spirit*, that holy desires are cherished, and good purposes accomplished. We have contented ourselves with stating facts, leaving the reader to make his own inferences.

nounce the object of Missions as visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or the western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European Society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take previous to actual engagement?

"The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexperience, look up to their Fathers in the Church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, JR.
SAMUEL NOTT, JR.
SAMUEL J. MILLS,
SAMUEL NEWELL."

This important paper was at first signed by two other individuals, Mr. Richards and Mr. Rice, but their names were omitted, from a fear that the application of so many individuals, at one time, might occasion embarrassment.

"This document," says the biographer of Mr. Mills, "was referred to a Special Committee, who, in their report, recognised the imperative obligation and importance of Missions—expressed their conviction that the gentlemen who had thus modestly expressed their views, ought not to renounce, but sacredly cherish their sacred impressions; and submitted the outlines of a plan, which at that meeting was carried into effect, in the appointment of a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, "for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures, for promoting the spread of the Gospel in Heathen lands."

Mr. Judson and his associates expected and desired an immediate appointment as missionaries; but the Board, being unprovided with funds, and not having as yet matured any plan of operations, advised them to continue their studies, and wait for further information. But, fearing that several years might elapse before a missionary spirit would be sufficiently excited in this country, Mr. Judson solicited and obtained leave of the Board to visit England, to ascertain whether any measures of co-operation could be concerted between the London Missionary Society and the Board, and whether any assistance could be obtained from that Society, in case the Board itself should be unable to sustain a Mission.*

* Instructions of the Board to Mr. Judson.

He sailed in January, 1811, for England. Three weeks after sailing, the vessel was captured by a French privateer; and after being detained several weeks as a prisoner on board, he was confined in a prison at Bayonne. By the exertions of an American gentleman, he was released on parole, and at length with great difficulty he obtained passports from the Emperor, and proceeded to England, where he arrived in May.

It was found, that no concert of measures could be arranged; but the London Society agreed to support Mr. J. and his companions as Missionaries, if the American Board should not be able to do it.*

Mr. J. returned to America, and at the meeting of the Board, at Worcester, in September, 1811, he and one of his missionary brethren earnestly solicited an immediate appointment, as they were extremely anxious to be engaged in missionary labours, and as there was a prospect of war between England and the United States, which would probably interrupt their plans entirely. They stated, that if the Board was unable to support them, they would accept an appointment from the London Society. The Board resolved, notwithstanding the scantiness of its funds, to establish a Mission in Burmah; and Messrs. Judson, Nott, Newell, and Hall, were immediately appointed. Messrs. Richards and Warren were received at the same meeting, as Missionaries, with instructions, however, to continue their studies for a while. Mr. Rice was afterwards appointed. It is interesting to contrast the state of the American Board, at that time, when its members hesitated, from a fear of the want of adequate funds, with the present condition of that powerful body.

During the session of the Association, at Bradford, in 1810, Mr. Judson first saw Miss Hasseltine. An acquaintance was soon after formed, which led to a direct offer of marriage on his part, including, of course, a proposition to her, to accompany him in his missionary enterprise.

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* It is said, [Life of Mills, p. 40.] that Mr. Judson "felt himself justified in entering into partial arrangements, at least, with the London Missionary Society, to become their Missionary in the East Indies." The fact is, that Mr. J. made no arrangement which interfered with his preference to receive the appointment of the American Board. The London Society gave to him and his associates, instructions, to be used at their option.

She was thus placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. The influence which her affections ought to have, in deciding a question of this kind, it would not, in ordinary cases, have been difficult to determine. But in this case, her embarrassment was increased, by the conflict which might arise between affection and duty. A person so conscientious as she was, would wish to form a decision on the important question of her duty, respecting missionary labours, uninfluenced by any personal considerations. Hesitation to assume an office so responsible, and so arduous, would spring up, in any mind; but Miss Hasseltine was required to decide on this point, in connexion with another, itself of the utmost consequence to her individual happiness. It was impossible to divest herself of her personal feelings; and she might have some painful suspicions lest her affections might bias her decision to become a Missionary; while female delicacy and honour would forbid her to bestow her hand, merely as a preliminary and necessary arrangement.

There was another circumstance which greatly increased the difficulty of a decision. No female had ever left America as a Missionary to the heathen. The general opinion was decidedly opposed to the measure. It was deemed wild and romantick in the extreme; and altogether inconsistent with prudence and delicacy. Miss H. had no example to guide and allure her. She met with no encouragement from the greater part of those persons, to whom she applied for counsel. Some expressed strong disapprobation of the project. Others would give no opinion. Two or three individuals, whom it might not be proper to name, were steady, affectionate advisers, and encouraged her to go. With these exceptions, she was forced to decide from her own convictions of duty, and her own sense of fitness and expediency.*

It was well, for the cause of Missions, that God assigned to Miss Hasseltine the honourable yet difficult office of leading the way in this great enterprise. Her adventurous spirit, and her decision of character eminently fitted her,

* The remark of one lady respecting Mrs. J. would express the feelings of many others. "I hear," said she, "that Miss H. is going to India. Why does she go?" "Why, she thinks it her duty; would not you go, if you thought it your duty?" "But," replied the good lady, with emphasis, "*I would not think it my duty.*" Many questions of duty, it may be suspected, are decided in this summary manner.

to resolve, where others would hesitate, and to advance, where others might retreat. She did decide to go, and her determination, without doubt, has had some effect on the minds of other females, who have since followed her example.*

To Mrs. Judson undoubtedly belongs the praise of being the first American female, who resolved to leave her friends and country, to bear the Gospel to the heathen in foreign climes.

Her journal, at this time, shows that her mind was in a state of extreme anxiety, and that she resorted for direction and help to Him who gives wisdom to the ignorant, and who guides the meek in judgment:

"*Aug.* 8, 1810. Endeavoured to commit myself entirely to God, to be disposed of, according to his pleasure. He is now trying my faith and confidence in him, by presenting dark and gloomy prospects, that I may be enabled, through divine grace, to gain an ascendancy over my selfish and rebellious spirit, and prefer the will of God to my own. I do feel, that his service is my delight. Might I but be the means of converting a single soul, it would be worth spending all my days to accomplish. Yes, I feel willing to be placed in that situation, in which I can do most good, *though it were to carry the Gospel to the distant, benighted heathen.*

"*Sept.* 10. For several weeks past, my mind has been greatly agitated. An opportunity has been presented to me, of spending my days among the heathen, in attempting to persuade them to receive the Gospel. Were I con-

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* The following extract from Mrs. Newell's journal, dated October 20, 1810, refers to Mrs. Judson, and it shows that Mrs. Newell had not then decided to go to India:

"A female friend called upon us this morning. She informed me of her determination to quit her native land, to endure the sufferings of a Christian amongst heathen nations—to spend her days in India's sultry clime. How did this news affect my heart! Is she willing to do all this for God; and shall I refuse to lend my little aid, in a land where divine revelation has shed its clearest rays? I have *felt* more for the salvation of the heathen, this day, than I recollect to have felt through my whole past life.

"How dreadful their situation! What heart but would bleed at the idea of the sufferings they endure to obtain the joys of paradise! What can *I* do, that the light of the gospel may shine upon them? They are perishing for lack of knowledge, while I enjoy the glorious privileges of a Christian land! Great God, direct me! O make me in *some* way beneficial to their immortal souls."

vinced of its being a call from God, and that it would be more pleasing to him, for me to spend my life in this way than in any other, I think I should be willing to relinquish every earthly object, and in full view of dangers and hardships, give myself up to the great work.

"A consideration of this subject has occasioned much self-examination, to know on what my hopes were founded, and whether my love to Jesus was sufficiently strong to induce me to forsake all for his cause. At times I have felt satisfied, that I loved him, on account of his own glorious perfections, and have been desirous that he should do with me, as he should please, and place me in that situation, in which I can be most useful. I have felt great satisfaction in committing this case to God, knowing, that he has a perfect understanding of the issue of all events, is infinitely wise to select the means best calculated to bring about the most important ends, and is able and willing to make the path of duty plain before me, and incline me to walk therein. At other times, I have felt ready to sink, being distressed with fears about my spiritual state, and appalled at the prospect of pain and suffering, to which my nature is so averse, and apprehensive, that when assailed by temptation, or exposed to danger and death, I should not be able to endure, as seeing Him who is invisible. But I now feel willing to leave it entirely with God. He is the fountain of all grace, and if he has designed me to be a promoter of his cause, among those who know him not, he can qualify me for the work, and enable me to bear whatever he is pleased to inflict. I am fully satisfied, that difficulties and trials are more conducive, than ease and prosperity, to promote my growth in grace, and cherish an habitual sense of dependance on God. While the latter please my animal nature, and lead me to seek happiness in creature enjoyments, the former afford convincing proofs that this life is designed to be a state of trial, and not a state of rest, and thus tend to wean me from the world, and make me look up to heaven as my home. Time appears nothing when compared with eternity, and yet events the most momentous depend on the improvement of these fleeting years. O Jesus, direct me, and I am safe; use me in thy service, and I ask no more. I would not choose my position of work, or place of labour; only let me know thy will, and I will readily comply.

"*Oct.* 28. My mind has still been agitated for two or three weeks past, in regard to the above mentioned sub-

ject. But I have, at all times, felt a disposition to leave it with God, and trust in him to direct me. I have, at length, come to the conclusion, that if nothing in providence appears to prevent, I must spend my days in a heathen land. I am a creature of God, and he has an undoubted right to do with me, as seemeth good in his sight. I rejoice, that I am in his hands—that he is every where present, and can protect me in one place as well as in another. He has my heart in his hands, and when I am called to face danger, to pass through scenes of terror and distress, he can inspire me with fortitude, and enable me to trust in him. Jesus is faithful; his promises are precious. Were it not for these considerations, I should, with my present prospects, sink down in despair, especially as no female has, to my knowledge, ever left the shores of America, to spend her life among the heathen; nor do I yet know, that I shall have a single female companion. But God is my witness, that I have not dared to decline the offer, that has been made me, though so many are ready to call it a 'wild, romantic undertaking.' If I have been deceived in thinking it my duty to go to the heathen, I humbly pray, that I may be undeceived, and prevented from going. But whether I spend my days in India or America, I desire to spend them in the service of God, and be prepared to spend an eternity in his presence. O Jesus, make me live to thee, and I desire no more.

"*Nov.* 25. Sabbath. Have spent part of this holy day in fasting and prayer, on account of the darkness of my mind, and the many internal trials of a spiritual nature, that I have lately experienced. Though destitute of that engagedness I could desire, I had some freedom in pouring out my soul to God, and some confidence, that he would grant my petitions. When I consider the great wickedness of my heart, I hardly venture to approach the throne of grace. But when I recollect, that God has promised to hear the cries of the poor and needy, and that he has even given his Son to die for those, who are sunk deep in sin, I find some encouragement to prostrate myself before the mercy seat, and plead the divine promises. Of late, I have had but little enjoyment, though my mind has been constantly exercised with divine truth. Yet I hope, that God will overrule these trials for my good. I have long since given myself to God; he has an undoubted right to dispose of me, and try me, as he pleases. *Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.*

"He who has styled himself a prayer hearing God, graciously manifested himself to my soul, and made it easy and pleasant to pray. Felt a longing desire for more grace, for more unreserved devotedness to God. When I get near to God, and discern the excellence of the character of the Lord Jesus, and especially his power and willingness to save, I feel desirous, that the whole world should become acquainted with this Saviour. I am not only willing to spend my days among the heathen, in attempting to enlighten and save them, but I find much pleasure in the prospect. Yes, I am quite willing to give up temporal comforts, and live a life of hardship and trial, if it be the will of God.

'I can be safe and free from care,
On any shore, since God is there.'

"*Oct.* Sabbath—(probably 1811.) Another holy day calls me to the house of God. O that I may enjoy his presence and rest in him. This morning, had some faint views of my unworthiness and nothingness before God. Felt ashamed, that I had ever indulged the least complacency in myself, when I am so exceedingly depraved. I can find no words to express my own vileness; and yet I sometimes exalt myself, and wonder the Supreme Being takes no more notice of my prayers, and gives me no more grace. This evening, attended a female prayer meeting. Felt solemn and engaged in prayer. Longed for clearer views of God, and stronger confidence in him. Made a new dedication of myself to God. Felt perfectly willing to give up my friends and earthly comforts, provided I might, in exile, enjoy the presence of God. I never felt more engaged in prayer for special grace, to prepare me for my great undertaking, than this evening. I am confident God will support me in every trying hour. I have strong hope, that in giving me such an opportunity of labouring for him, he will make me peculiarly useful. No matter where I am, if I do but serve the infinitely blessed God; and it is my comfort, that he can prepare me to serve him. Blessed Jesus, I am thine, forever. Do with me what thou wilt; lead me in the path in which thou wouldst have me go, and it is enough.

"*Nov.* 23. My heart has been quite revived, this evening, with spiritual things. Had some views of the excellent nature of the kingdom of Christ. Longed, above all things, to have it advanced. Felt an ardent desire to be

instrumental of spreading the knowledge of the Redeemer's name, in a heathen land. Felt it a great, an undeserved privilege, to have an opportunity of going. Yes, I think I should rather go to India, among the heathen, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable difficulties in the way, than to stay at home and enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life. Faith in Christ will enable me to bear trials, however severe. My hope in his powerful protection animates me to persevere in my purpose. O, if he will condescend to make me useful in promoting his kingdom, I care not where I perform his work, nor how hard it be. *Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.*"

The resolution of Mr. and Mrs. Judson, to devote themselves to the service of their Saviour as Missionaries, was not formed in the ardour of youthful enthusiasm. It was not the impulse of an adventurous spirit, panting for scenes of difficulty and danger. They had cherished no romantick views of the missionary enterprise. They had calmly estimated its hazards and its toils. They foresaw what it would cost them, and the issue to which it would probably lead them both. They knew well what they must do and suffer; and they yielded themselves as willing sacrifices, for the sake of the far distant heathen.

As a proof of this, an extract of a letter from Mr. J. to Deacon Hasseltine may here be quoted. It is in every view a remarkable document. Its design was, to ask the father's consent to his daughter's marriage, and her consequent departure for India. The letter is alike honourable to the writer, and to the parent. An ordinary lover would have solicited the desired consent, by a strong statement of every encouraging consideration, and by throwing the bright tints of hope, over the dark clouds which enveloped the future. Mr. Judson resorted to no such artifice. He knew that the case was too solemnly interesting, for any thing but simplicity, and godly sincerity. He knew that the excellent man whom he addressed, was capable of sacrificing his feelings to his duty, and was able to decide the painful question proposed to him, in single hearted submission to his Saviour's will.

After mentioning to Deacon H. that he had offered marriage to his daughter, and that she had "said something about consent of parents," Mr. Judson proceeds in this eloquent strain:

"I have now to ask, whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world; whether you can consent to her departure for a heathen land, and her subjection to the hardships and sufferings of a missionary life: whether you can consent to her exposure to the dangers of the ocean; to the fatal influence of the southern climate of India; to every kind of want and distress; to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death. Can you consent to all this, for the sake of him who left his heavenly home, and died for her and for you; for the sake of perishing, immortal souls; for the sake of Zion, and the glory of God? Can you consent to all this, in hope of soon meeting your daughter in the world of glory, with a crown of righteousness, brightened by the acclamations of praise which shall redound to her Saviour from heathens saved, through her means, from eternal wo and despair?"

Can the enemy of Missions, after reading this letter, accuse Missionaries of ambitious and selfish purposes? Could a man, capable of writing thus, in such circumstances, be actuated by any of the ordinary motives, which govern human actions? Could a father give up a daughter to such an alliance, and such a destiny, from any impulse, inferior to the constraining love of Christ?

The following letter from Miss H. to an intimate friend proves that she had duly estimated the importance and the difficulties of the subject, and had been guided to a decision, after deliberate reflection and earnest prayer to God.

To Miss L. K.

"*Beverly, Sept.* 8, 1810.

"I can, but for a moment, turn my thoughts on the dealings of God with *us*. He made us the inhabitants of the same town; and living near each other, as we have, no wonder the similarity in the turn of our minds produced strong affection. The same opportunities were afforded, and under the same instructers we obtained our education. We mutually assisted each other in *lightness, dissipation, and vanity*. When God, by his Holy Spirit, convinced *one* of her lost undone condition, her first object was to convince the other. Our convictions were the same. How often did we converse on our awful situation, and mingle our tears for our hardness and stupidity. The fields and groves frequently heard our complaints, the moon and stars in the

stillness of evening witnessed our sorrow. Did God leave us to act out the horrid enmity of our hearts? did he leave us to blaspheme his holy name, and curse the day in which we were born? No. Let our souls be filled with astonishment—he led us to Jesus, the Saviour of sinners! Can we deny that the Saviour appeared to us the chief among ten thousands? Did we not frequently meet to converse about the things of the kingdom, and eagerly inquire, 'how we could most promote the glory of God?' These facts, my friend, we cannot deny. But where is now that engagedness for God? What have we ever done for him who has so distinguished us? O Lydia, let us weep, let us be deeply affected with our ingratitude in living no more devoted to him. O let us, dear L. now begin, and sacrifice every thing that comes in competition with the glory of God, and give our whole selves to him.

"I have ever made you a confidant. I will still confide in you, and beg for your prayers, that I may be directed in regard to the subject which I shall communicate.

"I feel willing, and expect, if nothing in providence prevents, to spend my days in this world in heathen lands. Yes, Lydia, I have about come to the determination to give up all my comforts and enjoyments here, sacrifice my affection to relatives and friends, and go where God, in his providence, shall see fit to place me. My determinations are not hasty, or formed without viewing the dangers, trials, and hardships attendant on a missionary life. Nor were my determinations formed in consequence of an attachment to an earthly object; but with a sense of my obligations to God, and with a full conviction of its being a call in providence, and consequently my duty. My feelings have been *exquisite* in regard to the subject. Now my mind is settled and composed, and is willing to leave the event with God—none can support one under trials and afflictions but him. In him alone I feel a disposition to confide.

"How short is time, how boundless is eternity! If we may be considered worthy to suffer for Jesus here, will it not enhance our happiness hereafter? O pray for me. Spend whole evenings in prayer for those who go to carry the Gospel to the poor heathen."

Mr. and Mrs. Judson were married at Bradford, February 5, 1812.

CHAPTER III.

Embarkation—Voyage—Arrival at Calcutta.

On the 6th of February, 1812, Mr. Judson, and Messrs. Samuel Newell, Samuel Nott, Jr. Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice, were ordained, as Missionaries, in the Tabernacle Church, in Salem. On the 19th of February, Messrs. Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed from Salem, in the brig Caravan, Capt. Heard, for Calcutta. The Rev. Mr. Nott and lady, and Messrs. Hall and Rice, sailed for the same port, on the 18th, from Philadelphia, in the ship Harmony, Captain Brown.

The Missionaries were now embarked on their great enterprise. They had, as they supposed, taken a last farewell of their friends on earth; and they were now hastening to distant lands, to wear out their lives in teaching the dying idolaters of India the knowledge of that Saviour, who died on Calvary, that whosoever should believe in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. Never were men engaged in a nobler enterprise. Never did benevolence impel men to a more worthy sacrifice of ease, and of all that the heart values in the domestick relations and in civilized society. If the soul of man be of inestimable worth, and if the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ be the only instrument of its recovery and salvation, then does the Missionary enterprise surpass, in the importance of its aims, and the benevolence of its motives, every other effort of the human mind. It is not the purpose of this work to advocate, by abstract reasoning, the cause of missions. The whole argument lies within a narrow compass, and may be well stated in the language of Dr. Johnson, whose gigantick mind was little liable to be affected by the wayward impulses of enthusiasm. "If obedience to the will of God be necessary to happiness, and knowledge of his will be necessary to obedience, I know not how he that withholds this knowledge, or delays it, can be said to love his neighbour as himself. He that voluntarily continues ignorance, is guilty of all the crimes which ignorance produces; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a light house, might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwrecks."*

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.

Mrs. Judson was now afloat on an untried element, which was bearing her rapidly away from her home and kindred. The struggle, in a heart so strong in its affections as hers, must have been severe. We have seen, that she had calmly weighed the difficulties and the hazards of the undertaking, and was under the influence of no temporary excitement, nor bold spirit of adventure. She knew well what she must surrender, and the objects which called for the sacrifice,—and she left all, for the sake of her Saviour, and of her perishing fellow men. Why should such disinterested benevolence and heroick firmness fail to obtain the applause of men, who are ready to admire and praise these qualities, when exerted on other occasions and for other objects? Why should the voice of eloquence, and the lyre of the poet, which delight to commemorate the self-denial, and patriotism, and noble daring of the wise and good, be mute, when the Missionary departs on his errand of mercy? The memory of Lady Arabella Johnson has been the recent theme of eulogy, on the spot where Mrs. Judson embarked for India.* In what worthy quality of heart was the Missionary inferior to the accomplished Puritan; and how did the arduous enterprise of Mrs. J. in grandeur of aim, generous self-denial, devoted affection, and intrepid courage, fall short of that which has embalmed the memory of Lady Johnson? Why, then, should not the Missionary be included in the following tribute to female excellence, as true as it is beautiful?

"In the path of duty, no sacrifice is with them too high, or too dear. The voice of pleasure, or of power, may pass by unheeded; but the voice of affliction, never. The chamber of the sick, the pillow of the dying, the vigils of the dead, the altars of religion, never missed the presence or the sympathies of woman. Timid though she be, and so delicate, that the winds of heaven may not too roughly visit her, on such occasions she loses all sense of danger, and assumes a preternatural courage, which knows not, and fears not, consequences. Then she displays that undaunted spirit, which neither courts difficulties, nor evades them; that resignation, which utters neither murmur nor

* At the late centennial celebration of the settlement of Salem, in 1628, Judge Story, in his Address, spoke in suitable terms of Lady Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who accompanied her husband among the first settlers of Salem, and died soon after her arrival.

regret; and that patience in suffering, which seems victorious over death itself."*

The dangers of the ocean are sufficient to intimidate any heart, unless it be fortified with a better armour than that which Horace deemed necessary for the first maritime adventurer.† But Mrs. J. and her companions encountered no other than the usual incidents of a voyage. Some extracts from her journal and letters will be read with interest:

"*Feb.* 18. Took leave of my friends and native land, and embarked on board the brig Caravan, for India. Had so long anticipated the trying scene of parting, that I found it more tolerable than I had feared. Still my heart bleeds. O America, my native land, must I leave thee? Must I leave my parents, my sisters and brother, my friends beloved, and all the scenes of my early youth? Must I leave thee, Bradford, my dear native town, where I spent the pleasant years of childhood; where I learnt to lisp the name of my mother; where my infant mind first began to expand; where I entered the field of science; where I learnt the endearments of friendship, and tasted of all the happiness this world can afford; where I learnt also to value a Saviour's blood, and to count all things but loss, in comparison with the knowledge of him? Yes, I must leave you all, for a heathen land, an uncongenial clime. Farewell, happy, happy scenes,—but never, no, never to be forgotten.

"*Feb.* 19. Sea-sick all day, and unable to do anything. My thoughts, more than usual, fixed on divine things. Longed for the enjoyment of God's presence on our passage, that we may be preparing for usefulness in future life. In the night, had many distressing apprehensions of death. Felt unwilling to die on the sea, not so much on account of my state after death, as the dreadfulness of perishing amid the waves.

"*Feb.* 21. Somewhat relieved from sickness, and able to read a few chapters in the Bible. Never had a greater sense of our obligations to live devoted to God, resulting

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* Judge Story's Address.

† Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem,
Primus. *Horace L. I. Car. III.*

Sure oak and three fold brass surrounded his heart, who first trusted a frail vessel to the merciless ocean. *Smart's Translation.*

from his distinguished mercies. Even on the ocean, confined as I am, I find many sources of enjoyment, and feel as happy as when on land, in the midst of my friends.

"*Feb.* 22. O for a heart to live near to God, and serve him faithfully. I need nothing so much as ardent piety. I should feel happy in the consideration of having left my native land, and my father's house, if, by making this sacrifice, the kingdom of Christ would be promoted. May it be my great object to live a useful, holy life, and prepare to die a peaceful death.

"*Feb.* 27. This day has been regarded by our friends on land as a day of fasting and prayer for the prosperity of this mission, and I hope the same object has not been forgotten by us on the sea. I spent some time this evening on deck. The weather was pleasant; the motion of the vessel gentle, though rapid; the full moon shone clearly on the water; and all things around conspired to excite pleasing though melancholy sensations. My native land, my home, my friends, and all my forsaken enjoyments, rushed into my mind; my tears flowed profusely, and I could not be comforted. Soon, however, the consideration of having left all these for the dear cause of Christ, and the hope of being, one day, instrumental of leading some poor degraded females, to embrace him as their Saviour, soothed my griefs, dried up my tears, and restored peace and tranquillity to my mind.

"*Feb.* 29. The weather continues pleasant, so that we are able to spend much time on deck. I see that there is no situation in life in which trials and enjoyments, pains and pleasures, are not intermingled. I calculated on nothing but difficulties and distresses, during the voyage, and am disappointed in finding many pleasures. God frequently deprives his children of the good things of this world, that they may be sensible they have no portion here. Have I not, then, reason to fear that I am receiving my *only* portion? And yet my heart tells me, that I do not wish to take these things as my portion. I would rather be deprived of them than that they should deprive me of the enjoyment of the light of God's countenance. I desire a heavenly inheritance that will never fail me. I desire that the great, the infinite God, may be my portion, my friend, my all."

To her Mother.

"*At Sea, Sabbath eve, March* 1, 1812.

"No daughter would ever more gladly relieve the anxieties of a mother, than I yours. The motives which in-

duced me to go, and you to give your consent, ought now to support us, and prevent our indulging useless regret for what we cannot help. The life I now lead is much happier than I expected. Though deprived of many sources of enjoyment, I am surrounded with mercies. I have been sick every day since we sailed until to-day. My sickness has not been very distressing. I have been quite well part of the time; and when my sickness returned, found almost immediate relief from lying down. I suffer the most for the want of an appetite. However, we have such a variety of provisions on board, I generally find something I can relish. From the order and regularity of things in the cabin, you would hardly imagine we are on board of a vessel. The captain is a young gentleman of an amiable disposition and pleasing manners. He and all the officers treat us with the greatest kindness and respect. Every thing they have is at our service. Last Sabbath, the first of our being here, we had no preaching or religious worship. To-day it was proposed to the captain to have worship in the cabin. He readily assented, and joined with us, together with two of the other officers. I have not heard the least profane language since I have been on board the vessel. This is very uncommon."

"*March* 5. Began Cave's Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs. O for that ardent piety which was so conspicuous in them, and for that willingness to suffer for Christ's sake, which they manifested. I long to have my mind raised above fleeting, transitory objects, and placed entirely on those with which my soul is most nearly concerned, that so I may live as becomes a stranger and pilgrim on the earth. May even that *one tie* which still binds me to earth, though so strong and endearing, not hold my heart, my thoughts from Him, who alone is worthy of my supreme regard.

"7. Have enjoyed religion more than usual, and felt peculiarly desirous of being more spiritual and heavenly minded. Although I am almost secluded from the world, and have few things to attract my attention, yet I find that my heart frequently wanders from God, in search of happiness from other objects. I find it equally necessary to watch and pray, as when surrounded by worldly temptations.

"12. Spent most of the day in reading, and the evening in religious conversation. We conversed much on death, and the probability of our finding an early grave. The

subject was solemn and affecting, yet secretly pleasing and consoling. I never felt more willingness to die, or a stronger hope in Christ. Am astonished that I have thought no more of dying, and made no more preparation for death. Resolve to make it the business of each day to prepare to die.

"13. Enjoyed more than usual in secret prayer. Continue to feel impressed with the conversation of last evening, and to realize the importance of living a holy, spiritual life.

"14. Have been reading the Lives of Sir William Jones, and Dr. Doddridge. What a striking difference between the two characters. The former distinguished for his erudition; the latter for his piety. The great object of the one, was evidently the attainment of literary fame, and the applause of man. The other sought chiefly the good of immortal souls, and the approbation of God. Enjoyed much this evening in conversation and prayer. Perhaps some of my friends at home were praying for me; and in answer to their prayers, the Holy Spirit came to animate and comfort my heart. I feel thankful that God has given me an opportunity, and inclined my heart, to leave all my friends for a heathen land. I desire no higher enjoyment in this life than to be instrumental of leading some poor, ignorant heathen females to the knowledge of the Saviour. To have a female praying society, consisting of those who were once in heathen darkness, is what my heart earnestly pants after, and makes a constant subject of prayer. Resolved to keep this in view, as one principal object of my life.

"*April* 6. Spent the evening in conversing on religious subjects, particularly the difficulty of living a holy, spiritual life. We resolved to be more watchful over the sins of our hearts, and make greater efforts to live devoted to God. O may these resolutions not be in vain; for our future usefulness depends essentially on our advancement in the divine life. At present, I feel that I am a weak Christian indeed, and if only sincere, am willing to be considered the very least in the whole church."

To her Sister.

"*At Sea, April* 11, 1812.

"I find Mr. Judson one of the kindest, most faithful, and affectionate of husbands. His conversation frequently

dissipates the gloomy clouds of spiritual darkness which hang over my mind, and brightens my hope of a happy eternity. I hope God will make us instrumental of preparing each other for usefulness in this world, and greater happiness in a future world."

"*May* 18. Have enjoyed an uncommon degree of peace and comfort for many, many days. I do not recollect any period of my life, in which I have, for so long a time, had such constant peace of mind.- The last fortnight I have spent in reading the Scriptures and works on their authenticity and inspiration. Have gained much clearer views of the Christian religion, its blessed tendency, its unrivalled excellence. Christ appears peculiarly precious, amiable and glorious, as the author of such a religion. Of late, I have had no anxious feelings about my future situation in life, though all before me is so uncertain; but have had a disposition to leave all with my heavenly Father, to do with me as he pleases. I sometimes feel very thankful, that God has called me from my friends and native land, to a land of strangers, of spiritual darkness and death, thereby giving me an opportunity of denying myself of those enjoyments, on which I have been too prone to set my heart, and has thereby, I trust, led me to feel more deeply my dependence on him, and choose him for my only portion."

To Miss L. K.

"*At Sea, N. Lat.* 9, *E. Long.* 86.

"My dearest L——,

"When I reflect on the many sources of enjoyment I have left in my native land; when I think of my home, and the friends of my youth, the idea of having left them *forever*, is exquisitely painful. Yet I have never regretted having left them for the cause of Christ. No, my dear Lydia, in my most gloomy hours, or in the apparent near approach of death, I never have for a moment repented my having chosen the rugged, thorny path through which a Missionary must pass, in preference to the smooth and easy life I might have led in my native country. The thought of having acted from a sense of duty in thus voluntarily quitting my native land, has always been a powerful opiate to calm my fears in the midst of danger, and to induce me to place unlimited confidence in God.

"As it respects my voyage, thus far it has been pleasant. The morning we sailed, I was taken with sea-sickness. I

had anticipated the most distressing sensations from this sickness, but was agreeably disappointed; for I felt no worse through the whole, than if I had taken a gentle emetick. I kept my bed for the most of the time for four days. We had a strong favourable wind the first week we sailed, which carried us into mild, comfortable weather. The change of the weather in so short a time was so great, together with sea-sickness and the want of exercise, that I soon lost all relish for my food. Every thing tasted differently from what it does on land, and those things I was the most fond of at home, I loathed the most here. But I soon began to find the real cause of my ill health. It was want of exercise. For some time we could invent nothing which could give us exercise equal to what we had been accustomed to. Jumping the rope was finally invented, and this we found to be of great use. I began, and jumped it several times in the day, and found my health gradually return, until I was perfectly well. I mention these particulars, that *you*, should you ever go to sea, may escape ill health. I never enjoyed more perfect health in my life, than I do now; and I attribute it to my exercising so much.

"We found it exceedingly hot the first time that we crossed the equator. When going round the Cape of Good Hope, we had rough, rainy weather for twenty days. I never knew till then "the dangers of the deep." I never felt before, my entire dependence on God for preservation. Some nights I never slept on account of the rocking of the vessel and the roaring of the winds. Yet God preserved us—enabled us to trust in him and feel safe. Surely we have every reason to confide in God, and leave it with him to dispose of us as he pleases. We have again crossed the equator, and are within a few days' sail of Calcutta. My heart rejoices at the thought of once more seeing land. Yes, even the thought of seeing the land of strangers and heathenish darkness, produces sensations before unknown. We know not where we shall go, or in what part of God's world we shall spend our remaining days. But I feel willing to leave it all with our heavenly Father. I doubt not he will protect us, and place us in that station in which we shall be most useful. I have spent the most of my time, since on the water, in reading. I knew I needed a more intimate acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures; consequently, I have confined my attention almost exclusively to them. I have read the New Testament once through in course, two volumes of Scott's Commentary on the Old,

Paley, Trumbull, and Dick, on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, together with Faber and Smith on the Prophecies. I have been much interested in reading these authors on inspiration, on account of my almost total ignorance of the evidences of the divinity of the Scriptures, and I gained fresh evidence of the reality of the Christian religion. O my dear Lydia, how much enjoyment Christians lose by neglecting to study the Bible. The more we are conversant with it, the more shall we partake of the spirit of its author, and the more we shall feel that this world is not our home, and that we are rapidly hastening to another."

"*May* 24. Sabbath. We have had worship, as usual, in the cabin. The subject of the sermon was lukewarmness in religion. I felt, that a great part of it was applicable to myself. I am confounded, when I consider the indifference, with which I have regarded and treated so great a being as God. How little ardour I have felt in the cause of Christ, and how little zeal have I manifested for his glory. Under the impression of the truths of this sermon, I renewedly commend myself to God, all unholy and polluted as I am, and beg that he will sanctify me, and make me more engaged in his blessed service. We are now near the place of our destination—just ready to enter a strange land, where all are unknown to us, and we to them; and where we shall at once be exposed to the influence of an unhealthy climate. We know not the manner in which we shall be received, nor the place of our final residence. All the future is involved in dark uncertainty. But God is good in bringing us into circumstances, where we are compelled to trust in him. God is every where, and is ever ready to hear our cries, and succour us in our distresses."

To her Sister.

"*At Sea, June* 16.

"My dear Sister A——,

"Instead of beginning to fill your letter immediately after we sailed, I have left it to begin to fill it when our voyage is nearly completed. I have written to mamma and sister E. the particulars respecting my voyage thus far; consequently, it is unnecessary for me now to say any more. Day before yesterday, we came in sight of land, after being out only one hundred and twelve days. We could distinguish nothing on land except the towering mountains of Golconda. Yesterday morning, we were nearer land, and could

easily discover the trees on the shore. Some appeared to be placed regularly in rows, others were irregular and scattered. The scene was truly delightful, and reminded me of the descriptions I have read, of the fertile shores of India—the groves of orange and palm trees. I likewise thought it probable, that these shores were inhabited by a race of beings, by nature like ourselves, but who, not like us, are ignorant of the God who made them, and the Saviour who died for them. Yesterday we saw two vessels. One was a large ship, and the captain thought it to be a British man-of-war, as she was lying still till we came up with her. As soon as she hoisted the flag, we found her to be an American. We had high hopes of her being the vessel in which the other Missionaries sailed. With impatience we came up with her. She hailed us, and wished to know our longitude. Our captain asked her name, and where she was from, and to our great disappointment we found she was not the Harmony. You have no idea how interesting the sight—a vessel at the side of us, so near we could hear the captain speak—for he was the first person we have heard speak since we sailed, except what belong to the ship. The other was an English vessel—she spoke with us to-day. We are now at anchor in the Bay of Bengal, and dare not go any farther to-night, as we have not yet got a pilot. Every thing before us is uncertain. Whether we shall ever again be on land, or where we shall live, is known only to our heavenly Father.

"*Monday.* We have been very anxious this morning to get a pilot. At length a vessel was seen at a distance, and it proved to be a pilot vessel. He has just this moment come on board, with his two servants. One of them a Hindoo. He exactly answers the description we have had of those poor benighted creatures. He looks as simple and feminine as you can imagine. What an alteration would a belief in Christianity make in such a degraded creature. If we have a favourable wind, we hope to get to Calcutta to-morrow. O how soon will our labours in the mission begin! Yet we are happy, the time is so near when we may begin to labour for Christ in a pagan land.

"*Tuesday.* Last night was the most dangerous, and to me, by far the most unpleasant we have had. The navigation here being dangerous, on account of the sand-shoals, the pilot came to anchor before dark. The sea was high, and kept the vessel in continual motion. About ten, the mate came down, and told us the cable had parted, and

the anchor gone. I thought all hope of our safety was entirely gone, and immediately began to inquire into my preparedness for an entrance into another world. The thought of being shipwrecked, was exceedingly distressing: and I could not but think the providence of God would preserve us on account of this infant mission. In him I confided, and he preserved us. They got the ship under way; and the pilot being well acquainted with the shoals, we met with no difficulty. I slept none at all, in consequence of the continual noise, and profane language on deck. The captain has never used any profane language since we have been with him; but the pilot, much more than we have ever heard before. But the scene is now truly delightful. We are sailing up the river Hoogly, a branch of the Ganges, and so near the land, that we can distinctly discover objects. On one side of us are the sunderbunds—[islands at the mouths of the Ganges.] The smell which proceeds from them, is fragrant beyond description. We have passed the mango trees, and some large brick houses.

"*Wednesday.* I have never, my dear sister, witnessed or read any thing so delightful as the present scene. On each side of the Hoogly, where we are now sailing, are the Hindoo cottages, as thick together as the houses in our seaports. They are very small, and in the form of hay-stacks, without either chimneys or windows. They are situated in the midst of trees, which hang over them, and appear truly romantick. The grass and fields of rice are perfectly green, and herds of cattle are every where feeding on the banks of the river, and the natives are scattered about, differently employed. Some are fishing, some driving the team, and many are sitting indolently on the banks of the river. The pagodas we have passed are much handsomer and larger than the houses. Notwithstanding the scene is so pleasant, on account of the works of nature, yet it is truly melancholy when we reflect, that these creatures, so numerous, so harmless, have immortal souls, and like us are destined to the eternal world—and yet have none to tell them of Christ. I suppose the natives that live on these shores, for many miles, have never seen a Missionary. I should be happy to come and live among them, in one of their little houses, if it was as large a field for usefulness as some others. There are many English, elegant seats near the shore. We are within four or five miles of Calcutta. When we get there I will write you again. O what reason have we to be thankful, for so pleasant, so

prosperous a voyage. There is seldom a voyage so short as ours—we have not yet been out four months. I hope God will make us useful, and keep us near to himself."

"Well, Abigail, here we are safe in Calcutta harbour, and almost stunned with the noise of the natives. Mr. Judson has gone on shore, to find a place for us to go. This city is by far the most elegant of any thing I have ever seen. Many ships are lying at anchor, and hundreds of natives all around. They are dressed very curiously with white, hanging loosely over their shoulders. But I have not time to describe any thing at present. We have plenty of fruit on board. The bananas are a very delicious fruit; they taste much like a rich pear.

"*Thursday.* Harriet and I are yet on board the vessel, and have not been on land. Mr. Judson did not return last night, until the evening, and had not gained permission from the Police office to live in the country, consequently we could not go on shore. Mr. J. and Mr. N. are gone again to-day, and what will be their success I know not. The East India Company are violently opposed to missions, and have barely given liberty to their own countrymen to settle here as preachers. We have nothing to expect from man, and every thing from God. I think I never have felt more confidence in God, to protect and direct this mission, than this morning. If he has any thing for us to do here, he will doubtless open a door for our entrance; if not, he will send us to some other place. We have given ourselves to him, devoted ourselves to his service, and have every reason, from past experience of his goodness, to still trust and confide in his goodness. O my dear sister, what a source of happiness and comfort, that God reigns, even on these heathen shores of darkness and wretchedness. Captain Heard has just come on board, and given us a very polite invitation to go to the house he has procured for himself on shore. The politeness and kindness of this man have been remarkable. Throughout our passage, he has treated us with every possible attention, and made it much more comfortable than it otherwise would have been. O, live near to God in a Christian land, and think, feel, and pray much for the millions who are perishing for the want of the knowledge of a Saviour. So little time as we have to live in this world, must be improved to the best advantage. We shall soon meet in the eternal world, and then the more we have done for Christ, the happier we shall be."

CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties with the Bengal Government—Sail for Isle of France—Death of Mrs. Newell.

On the 18th of June, 1812, the Missionaries landed at Calcutta, where they were met and welcomed to India, by the venerable Dr. Carey. He immediately invited them to Serampore, to reside in the mission family, until the other Missionaries, in the Harmony, should arrive.* They accordingly stayed one night in Calcutta, and the next morning, they took a boat, and went up the river, fifteen miles, to Serampore. Here they were received with the utmost kindness by the mission family. Mrs. J. speaks, in warm terms, of the piety, industry, economy, and order, which distinguished the operations at that great missionary establishment. Messrs. Carey, Marshman, and Ward, then resided there with their families. Dr. Carey was employed in translating the Scriptures; Dr. Marshman, his wife, and son, taught a male and female school. Mr. Ward superintended the extensive printing establishment.

The following letter of Mrs. J. contains some interesting particulars:

To her Sister.

"*Serampore Mission-House.*

"I have left your letter, my dear sister M. until the last, to continue my narrative to the family. I concluded A's with saying, Captain Heard had just invited us to go to his house. Mr. Judson came on board with an invitation from Dr. Carey to spend the night with him. I got into a palankeen—Mr. Judson walked to the house. It was with considerable fear I rode, as the streets were full of natives and English carriages. Those who carried me went so much faster than Mr. Judson, that I soon lost sight of him, and did not know where they would carry me. They, however, stopped before a large stone building, which I soon found to be Dr. Carey's house. We were directed up a pair of stairs, through one or two large rooms, into his study. He arose, shook hands with us, and gave us a cordial welcome to this country. His house is curiously con-

* The Harmony arrived six weeks after the Caravan.

structed, as the other European houses are here. There are no chimnies or fire-places in them, the roofs are flat, the rooms twenty feet in height and proportionably large. Large windows, without glass, open from one room to another, that the air may freely circulate through the house. They are very convenient for this hot climate, and bear every mark of antiquity. In the evening we attended meeting in the English Episcopal Church. It was the first time of our attending meeting for above four months, and as we entered the church, our ears were delighted with hearing the organ play our old favourite tune, Bangor. The church was very handsome, and a number of punkies, something like a fan several yards in length, hung around, with ropes fastened to the outside, which were pulled by some of the natives, to keep the church cool. We spent the night at Dr. Carey's, and were rejoiced to find ourselves once more in a house on land. Very near the house, is a charity school supported by this mission, in which are instructed two hundred boys and nearly as many girls. They are chiefly children of Portuguese parents, and natives of no cast. We could see them all kneel in prayer time, and hear them sing at the opening of the school. It was really affecting to see these poor children, picked up in the streets, learning to sing the praise and read the word of God.

"While at Dr. C.'s we saw a wedding procession pass. The bridegroom was carried in a palankeen, with flowers in his hands, and on his head. He appeared to be about ten years of age. The procession were dressed in uniform, with large branches of flowers, and instruments of musick. The Hindoos are frequently married when children, the contract being made by their parents. In the afternoon, we left Calcutta, for Serampore, having previously received an invitation from the Missionaries to reside with them, until our brethren arrive. We were met at the water side by Messrs. Marshman and Ward, who led us to the house, and introduced us to their wives. They received us very cordially. The school kept by Mrs. Marshman consists almost entirely of the children belonging to the mission, and European young ladies. They are taught various kinds of needle-work, embroidery, &c. and study the languages. Mrs. Marshman's eldest daughter, fourteen years of age, reads and writes Bengalee and English; and has advanced some way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

The three families live in separate houses, but all eat together, in a large hall, in the mission house. The bell rings at five in the morning, for the boys to arise for school. Again at eight, for breakfast. Immediately after breakfast, we all assemble in the chapel, for prayers. Begin with singing a hymn, in which most of the children join; read a chapter in the Bible, and conclude with prayer. On the Sabbath, they have worship in English, from eleven till one: In Bengalee, for the natives, in the afternoon, and in English again, in the evening. Monday evening they have a religious conference for the native brethren and sisters. Tuesday morning an hour is spent in explaining passages of Scripture. Thursday and Saturday evenings, in conference meetings. These Missionaries are eminently pious as well as learned. The garden is as far superior to any in America, as the best garden in America is to a common farmer's. It consists of several acres, under the highest state of cultivation. Fruits of various kinds, plants, flowers and vegetables, grow here in great abundance. The pine-apple grows on a low bush, the plantain on a tall stalk, and the cocoa-nut on a high tree, resembling our pine tree.

"The third day after we came here, there was a celebration of the worship of Juggernaut. We went about ten in the morning. The immense multitude of natives assembled on the occasion, and the noise they made, answered to the account Buchanan gave. The idol was set on the top of a stone building. He is only a lump of wood, his face painted with large black eyes, and a large red mouth. He was taken from his temple, and water poured on him to bathe him. This is introductory to a more solemn act of worship, which will be performed a fortnight hence. After these poor deluded creatures had bathed their god, they proceeded to bathe themselves. Poor, miserable, deluded beings, they know not what they do. O Mary! the inhabitants of America know nothing of poverty, slavery and wretchedness, compared with the natives of India. So very numerous, they cannot get employ; and when they do, they are treated by Europeans like beasts more than like men. Many of them die for the want of nourishment. Add to all this, they are ignorant of the only way of salvation. Who would not pity the poor heathen, and rejoice to contribute their mite to relieve some of their distresses!"

After they had been here about ten days, Messrs. Judson and Newell were summoned to Calcutta, and an order of the government was read to them, requiring them immediately to leave the country, and return to America. The government of India, at that time, were resolutely opposed to missions. Their motives we need not now canvass. The charter of the East India Company, which was renewed in 1813, was so altered in its passage through Parliament, by the zealous exertions of Wilberforce, Smith, Thornton, Fuller, and other friends of Christ in Great Britain, as to secure toleration for missionary efforts. The British possessions in the East were constituted an Episcopal See, and placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons. The Rev. Dr. Middleton was the first Bishop, and was succeeded by Bishop Heber, who has since died. It is just to say, that a great change of feeling has taken place among the officers of government, and the European residents, in India. Their fears concerning the effects of missionary operations, have subsided, and they are now disposed to favour and promote them.

This order was a very alarming and distressing one. The thought of returning, without accomplishing, in any degree, their object, was insupportable. The instructions of the Board of Commissioners, when they left America, directed them to fix the seat of their mission in the Burman empire, unless circumstances should render it inexpedient to attempt it. All the Missionaries, however, thought it impracticable to establish a mission there. The despotick character of the government, and the failure of all previous attempts to introduce the Gospel into that empire, induced them to renounce the idea of a Burman mission. Mr. Nott, in a letter to a friend, said, "The Burman empire seems at present out of the question." Mrs. Newell, in her journal, July 16, 1812, says: "We cannot feel that we are called in providence to go to Burmah. Every account we have from that savage, barbarous nation, confirms us in our opinion, that the way is not prepared for the spread of the Gospel there." They therefore petitioned for leave to go to the Isle of France, which was granted; and Mr. and Mrs. Newell sailed about the 1st of August. As the vessel could accommodate but two passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Judson remained in Calcutta, about two months longer. They were entertained with the most liberal hospitality, at the house of Mr. Rolt, an English gentleman; and the treatment which they received from other Chris-

tian friends was kind and soothing to their feelings, amid their difficulties.

About this time, Mrs. J. wrote the following letter to her sisters:

"*Calcutta, Aug.* 23, 1812.

"My dear Sisters,

"A melancholy pleasure pervades my mind, when I take up my pen to address those whom I love, and whom I never expect to meet again in this world. When thinking of my friends and much loved native land, I frequently join with Ossian in saying, 'There is a joy in *grief* when peace dwells in the breast of the sad.' Grief for the deprivation of my friends, I love to indulge; and I find every such indulgence binds them more closely to my heart. Can I forget thee, O my country? Can I forget the scenes of childhood; and the more endearing scenes of riper years? Can I forget the parental roof, sisters, companions, and associates of my life? No, never! Never, till this pulse ceases to beat, this heart to feel. Yet, my dear girls, think not that I am *habitually* melancholy, or regret having left my native land. I never was happier, never was more cheerful, and never more satisfied in having engaged in my arduous undertaking."

The following paragraph, from the same letter, is quoted here, because the opinion of Mrs. J. on the subject referred to, is entitled to much weight, and applies, with equal force, to almost every heathen country:

"Good female schools are extremely needed in this country. I hope no Missionary will ever come out here, without a wife, as she, in her sphere, can be equally useful with her husband. I presume Mrs. Marshman does more good in her school, than half the ministers in America."

While they remained in Calcutta, their minds were agitated with doubt, respecting their future course. They could not stay in Hindostan; and yet they resolved to devote themselves to missionary labours, if any position could be found, where they could stay and toil. At one time, they thought it expedient to attempt a mission in South America; and Mr. Judson commenced the study of the Portuguese language. Japan, Persia, Madagascar, and other countries, were thought of, as fields for missionary efforts. Mr. Judson had long regarded Burmah, as the most desirable station; but it seemed inexpedient, at that

time, to attempt to establish a mission there. The following extract of a letter from Mrs. J. dated Calcutta, Sept. 19, will show in what light the design was regarded, and will increase the evidence which many other events afford, that a special providence conducted them to Rangoon, contrary to their expectations, and to all apparent probabilities :

"We had almost concluded to go to the Burman empire, when we heard there were fresh difficulties existing between the English and the Burman government. If these difficulties are settled, I think it probable we shall go there. It presents a very extensive field for usefulness, containing seventeen millions of inhabitants;—and the Scriptures have never been translated into their language. This circumstance is a very strong inducement to Mr. Judson to go there, as there is no other place where he could be equally useful in translating. But our privations and dangers would be great. There are no bread, potatoes, butter, and very little animal food. The natives live principally on rice and fish. I should have no society at all except Mr. J. for there is not an English female in all Rangoon. But I could easily give up these comforts, if the government was such as to secure safety to its subjects.

"But where our lives would depend on the caprice of a monarch, or those who have the power of life and death, we could never feel safe, unless we always had strong faith in God. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we are perfectly willing to go, if Providence opens the way. Mr. Judson has written to Mr. Chater, at Ceylon, to get all the information respecting that place, he can. Felix Carey has lately arrived from Rangoon, and wishes us to return with him, as he is entirely alone, there being no other Missionary in all Burmah. Mr. Judson and myself enjoy perfect health, and yet this is the most fatal month in the year, and is considered more sickly this year, than many years before. All our brethren have been sick with fevers, but are getting better. Why we are thus distinguished with such uncommon health, we know not, but can only ascribe it to the sovereign mercy of our Heavenly Father. We are still at Mr. Rolt's, in Calcutta, where we are treated with the greatest kindness. I hope these favours will not induce us to forget our great object, or make us less engaged in our mission than when we were deprived of

them. Mr. J. and myself spend the greater part of our time alone, and endeavour to realize the greatness of the work in which we have engaged—our dependence on God for success and direction—and the shortness and uncertainty of life."

The following letter to her parents shows that they were still "perplexed, but not in despair—persecuted, but not forsaken."

"*Calcutta, Oct.* 9, 1812.

"My dear and honoured Parents,

"I know you wish to hear from us every opportunity; and to hear of our continued prosperity will afford you peculiar pleasure. When we reflect on the goodness and mercy of our Heavenly Father to us since we left our native land, we are filled with wonder and gratitude, and feel the obligations these distinguished favours lay us under of renewedly devoting ourselves to his service. We view his hand in leading us by a way we knew not, and in raising us up friends where we had no reason to expect them. If God has made it our duty to leave our home and friends, he has given us a home here in a land of strangers, and friends who are kind and sympathizing. If he has presented dark and gloomy prospects, and, for a time, hedged up our way, yet he has enabled us to trust him in the dark, to feel our entire dependence on him, and lean on him for direction and support. We are still at Mr. Rolt's in Calcutta, where we receive every attention we can wish. Although we are so comfortable here, and have every thing we wish, yet we long to get away to the place where we shall labour among the heathen. Mr. Judson is making daily exertions to get away. We have at present some prospect of going to Java. It presents a wide field for missionary labours, and no Missionary is there. We have spoken for a passage; and unless some new prospects open of getting into the Burman empire, it is probable we shall go to Java, if government will permit. There is some prospect of brother Rice's going with us, which we consider as a great favour in providence, as we expected to go alone.

"The missionary cause continues to prosper in this country, and constant additions are making to the churches. As many as twenty have been added to the Baptist church in Calcutta, since we have been here. I heard the relations of four native women before the church, a

short time since, which were very interesting. They were converted by the means of a native who is a preacher, and has been the means of converting a great number. Last Sabbath, I communed with this church, which is composed of Europeans, Armenians, Hindoos, Portuguese, and a class of people called half-cast, on account of one of their parents being a European, the other a Hindoo. I could not but be affected to see so many which were called emphatically from the 'highways and hedges,' commemorating the dying love of Christ, in a heathen land."

Another circumstance, of which further notice will be taken in the next Chapter, added to their embarrassment at this time. Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and Mr. Rice, had become Baptists, and been baptized in Calcutta. Their connexion with the American Board of Commissioners, therefore, they considered as virtually dissolved. They could expect no support from that Board, and they could not be sure that their Baptist brethren would aid them.

The government were offended by the stay of the Missionaries at Calcutta, supposing, probably, that they intended to remain in Bengal.

"They accordingly," says Mrs. Judson,* "issued a most peremptory order for our being sent immediately on board one of the Honourable Company's vessels, bound to England. A petty officer accompanied Messrs. Rice and Judson to their place of residence, and requested them not to leave it without permission. We saw our names inserted in the publick papers as passengers on board a certain ship, and now there appeared very little hope of our escape. Mr. Rice and Mr. Judson, however, soon ascertained that a ship would sail for the Isle of France, in two days. They applied for a pass from the chief magistrate, but were refused. They communicated to the captain of the ship their circumstances, and asked if he would venture to take them on board without a pass? He replied that he would be neutral; that there was his ship, and that they might do as they pleased.

"With the assistance of the gentleman in whose house we were residing, we obtained coolies (porters) to convey our baggage, and, at twelve o'clock at night, we embarked, though the gates of the dock-yards were closed, and the

*Burman Mission, pp. 18, 19.—Messrs. Nott and Hall obtained a passage for Bombay, and sailed thither about November 20.

opening of them at that time of night, quite contrary to the regulations of the Company. The next morning the ship sailed. She had proceeded down the river for two days, when a government despatch arrived, forbidding the pilot to go farther, as passengers were on board who had been ordered to England."

A letter to her parents, dated at sea, Dec. 7, contains some interesting particulars of the incidents, at this crisis, and of their subsequent arrival at the Isle of France, where they learnt the melancholy tidings of the death of Mrs. Newell.

"*At Sea, N. Lat.* 12, *Dec.* 7, 1812.

"My dear Parents,

"We immediately concluded that it was not safe to continue on board the remainder of the night. Mr. Rice and Mr. Judson took a boat and went on shore to a tavern little more than a mile from the ship. The captain said that I, and our baggage, could stay on board with perfect safety, even should an officer be sent to search the vessel. The next day we lay at anchor, expecting every hour to hear some intelligence from Calcutta. In the evening, the captain received a note from the owner of the vessel, saying he had been at the Police to inquire the cause of the detention of his ship; and the cause assigned was, 'it was suspected there were persons on board which the captain had been forbidden to receive,' and that the ship could not proceed, until it was ascertained that no such persons were on board. The pilot immediately wrote a certificate that no such persons were on board, at the same time giving a list of all the passengers. I got into a small boat and went on shore, where the brethren had been anxiously waiting through the day. We knew not what course to take, as it was then impossible that we could proceed in that ship, without a pass from the magistrate. Brother Rice set out directly for Calcutta, to see if it was possible to get a pass, or do any thing else. We spent the night and the next day at the tavern, without hearing any thing from the ship, fearing that every European we saw was in search of us. Brother R. returned from Calcutta, but had effected nothing. The owner of the vessel was highly offended at his ship's being detained so long on our account, and would do nothing more to assist us. We felt our situation was peculiarly trying, and could see no end to our

difficulties. Early the next morning we received a note from the captain, saying *he* had liberty to proceed, but *we* must take our baggage from the vessel. We thought it not safe to continue at the tavern, where we were, neither could we think of returning to Calcutta. But one way was left—to go down the river about 16 miles, where there was another tavern. I went on board to see about our baggage, as the brethren did not think it safe for them to go. As we could get no boat at the place where we were, I requested the captain to let our things remain until the vessel reached the other tavern, where I would try to get a boat. He consented, and told me I had better go in the vessel, as it would be unpleasant going so far in a small boat. I was obliged to go to the shore again, to inform the brethren of this, and know what they would do. Brother R. set out again for Calcutta to try to get a passage to Ceylon, in a ship which was anchored near the place we were going to. Mr. J. took a small boat in which was a small part of our baggage, to go down the river, while I got into the pilot's boat, which he had sent on shore with me, to go to the ship. As I had been some time on shore, and the wind strong, the vessel had gone down some distance. Imagine how uncomfortable my situation. In a little boat rowed by six natives, entirely alone, the river very rough, in consequence of the wind; without an umbrella or any thing to screen me from the sun, which was very hot. The natives hoisted a large sail, which every now and then would almost tip the boat on one side. I manifested some fear to them, and to comfort me, they would constantly repeat, 'Cutcha pho annah sahib, cutcha pho annah.' The meaning, Never fear, madam, never fear. After some time we came up with the ship, where I put our things in order to be taken out in an hour or two. When we came opposite the tavern, the pilot kindly lent me his boat and servant, to go on shore. I immediately procured a large boat to send to the ship for our baggage. I entered the tavern, a *stranger*, *a female*, and *unprotected*. I called for a room and sat down to reflect on my disconsolate situation. I had nothing with me but a few rupees. I did not know that the boat which I sent after the vessel would overtake it, and if it did, whether it would ever return with our baggage; neither did I know where Mr. J. was, or when he would come, or with what treatment I should meet at the tavern. I thought of *home*, and said to myself, *These are some of the many trials attendant on a missionary life, and which I*

had anticipated. In a few hours Mr. J. arrived, and toward night, our baggage. We had now given up all hope of going to the Isle of France, and concluded either to return to Calcutta, or to communicate our real situation to the tavern keeper, and request him to assist us. As we thought the latter preferable, Mr. J. told our landlord our circumstances, and asked him if he could assist in getting us a passage to Ceylon. He said a friend of his was expected down the river the next day, who was captain of a vessel bound to Madras, and who, he did not doubt, would take us. This raised our sinking hopes. We waited two days; and on the third, which was Sabbath, the ship came in sight, and anchored directly before the house. We now expected the time for our deliverance was come. The tavern keeper went on board to see the captain for us; but our hopes were again dashed, when he returned and said the captain could not take us. We determined, however, to see the captain ourselves, and endeavour to persuade him to let us have a passage at any rate. We had just sat down to supper when a letter was handed us. We hastily opened it, and, to our great surprise and joy, in it was a *pass* from the magistrate for us to go on board the Creole, the vessel we had left. Who procured this pass for us, or in what way, we are still ignorant; we could only view the hand of God, and wonder. But we had every reason to expect the Creole had got out to sea, as it was three days since we left her. There was a possibility, however, of her having anchored at Saugur, seventy miles from where we then were. We had let our baggage continue in the boat into which it was first taken, therefore it was all in readiness; and after dark, we all three got into the same boat, and set out against the tide, for Saugur. It was a most dreary night to me; but Mr. J. slept the greater part of the night. The next day we had a favourable wind, and before night reached Saugur, where were many ships at anchor, and among the rest we had the happiness to find the Creole. She had been anchored there two days, waiting for some of the ship's crew. I never enjoyed a sweeter moment in my life, than that when I was sure we were in sight of the Creole. After spending a fortnight in such anxiety, it was a very great relief to find ourselves safe on board the vessel on which we first embarked. All of us are now attending to the French language, as that is spoken altogether at the Isle of France. Though it has pleased our Heavenly Father lightly to afflict us, yet he has supported and deliver-

ed us from our trials; which still encourages us to trust in him.

"*Jan.* 7, 1813. We have been at sea nearly six weeks, and are within a week's sail of the Isle of France. It is a long passage, but we have had contrary winds, and much rough weather, and shall arrive at the place in the worst season of the year, on account of the heavy winds and hurricanes which are frequent at this season. There are four passengers besides ourselves, and the captain's wife. None of them in the least seriously inclined. We three have worship twice every Sabbath, and prayers in our room every evening. The other passengers spend their Sabbaths on deck in *playing cards and chess*, and trifling conversation. It is very trying to us to see the Sabbath profaned in such a way. But we cannot prevent it. Though they treat us with respect, yet I presume they consider us as superstitious, enthusiastick, unsocial creatures. But we know it is our great business to serve our Heavenly Father, and prepare for usefulness among the heathen. In order to do this, we must take those methods which make us appear contemptible in the eyes of the men of this world.

"We continue to attend to the French language. Find nothing difficult about it. I shall finish this when we arrive.

"17. Saturday. We have, at last, my dear parents, arrived at the Isle of France. We are now anchored in the harbour, and hope to go on shore in the morning. But O how have our hearts been wrung with anguish this evening in hearing that Harriet is dead! Alas! she has soon ended her missionary life—she is early released from her toils and labours. Happy girl! you will suffer no more—your tears are wiped away, and your soul is made pure in the blood of Jesus! We have had no particulars of her death; but I have conjectured much. I have anticipated much pleasure during my passage, in meeting her with her little babe. But our Heavenly Father, who doth all things well, hath ordered otherwise.

"Sabbath morning. Brother Newell has just come on board, and appears disconsolate and heart-broken. He has borne his sorrows alone, having no Christian friend to comfort him. He has given us the particulars of Harriet's death, which I will here insert:

"Soon after they left Calcutta, in consequence of contrary winds and storms, the vessel was found to be in a leaky, sinking condition, which obliged them to put into

Choringa to repair. Before the vessel got in, Harriet was seized with the bowel complaint, which was extremely distressing in her situation. She however was considerably recovered before they put to sea again, and was in hopes of getting to the Isle of France before she was confined. But they again had contrary winds, which made their passage so much longer, that she was confined on board the vessel. She was safely and very comfortably delivered of a little girl, a fortnight before the vessel arrived. She was much better for a few days than she had been for weeks before; and the child was perfectly well, and appeared as likely to live as any child. In a few days a storm came on; and as she and the infant were much exposed to the wet weather, they both took cold, which speedily terminated the life of the infant, and threw Harriet into a consumption, of which she died, on the 30th of Nov. She thought herself in a consumption from the first of her illness, and endeavoured to be prepared to meet the king of terrors. She had her reason perfectly to the last moment of her life. She felt no fear of death, but longed for its approach. The day before she died, her physician told her she would not continue another day. She lifted up her hands, and exclaimed, 'O glorious intelligence.' She took a formal leave of Mr. Newell, and delivered to him messages to her friends with the greatest composure. She frequently mentioned in her sickness that she had never repented leaving her native country, and that the consideration of having left it for the cause of Christ, now afforded her great consolation. She died in a happy, composed frame, without a struggle or a groan. Her body now lies, solitary and alone, in yonder heathy ground. No marble monument* is erected to speak her worth, no common gravestone to tell the passing stranger, Here lie the remains of *one*, who, for the love of Christ and immortal souls, left the bosom of her friends, and found an early grave in a land of strangers. But angels will watch her dust, even in this benighted land; and at the resurrection of the just, it will be reunited to her immortal spirit, which, no doubt, is now in the full enjoyment of her God."

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* A monument has since been erected over her grave, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and Mr. Rice, become Baptists—Mr. Rice returns to America—Mr. and Mrs. J. sail for Madras—Arrive at Rangoon.

We have deferred, until this time, any account of the change of opinion respecting Baptism, which Mr. and Mrs. Judson and Mr. Rice experienced soon after their arrival in India. The event is interesting in itself, and in its consequences; for it resulted in the establishment of the Burman Mission, and in the formation of the Baptist General Convention in the United States. The great Head of the Church seems to have made this a leading event in that series of causes which aroused the Baptist churches in America, to the duty of engaging in Foreign Missions.

The progress of this change in the opinions of Mr. and Mrs. J. will be related, without comment, in their own words. It is due to them to prove, undeniably, that it was the result of a thorough and deliberate investigation; that it was a simple obedience to the power of what they believed to be the truth; and that it cost them sacrifices of feeling and of interest, of which persons less pious would have been incapable. From Mrs. Judson's journal and letters a few extracts will be made, which will sufficiently establish these points:

"*Isle of France—Port Louis, Feb.* 14, 1813.

"I will now, my dear parents and sisters, give you some account of our change of sentiment, relative to the subject of Baptism, which took place about this time. Mr. Judson's doubts commenced while on our passage from America. While translating the New Testament, in which he was engaged, he used frequently to say, that the Baptists were right in their mode of administering the ordinance. Knowing he should meet the Baptists at Serampore, he felt it important to attend to it more closely, to be able to defend his sentiments. After our arrival at Serampore, his mind for two or three weeks was so much taken up with missionary inquiries and our difficulties with government, as to prevent his attending to the subject of baptism. But as we were waiting the arrival of our brethren, and having nothing in particular to attend to, he again took up the sub-

ject. I tried to have him give it up, and rest satisfied in his old sentiments, and frequently told him if he became a Baptist, *I would not.* He, however, said he felt it his duty to examine closely a subject on which he had so many doubts. After we removed to Calcutta, he found in the library in our chamber, many books on both sides, which he determined to read candidly and prayerfully, and to hold fast, or embrace the truth, however mortifying, however great the sacrifice. I now commenced reading on the subject, with all my prejudices on the Pedobaptist side. We had with us Dr. Worcester's, Dr. Austin's, Peter Edwards', and other Pedobaptist writings. But after closely examining the subject for several weeks, we were constrained to acknowledge that the truth appeared to lie on the Baptists' side. It was extremely trying to reflect on the consequences of our becoming Baptists. We knew it would wound and grieve our dear Christian friends in America—that we should lose their approbation and esteem. We thought it probable the Commissioners would refuse to support us,—and what was more distressing than any thing, we knew we must be separated from our missionary associates, and go alone to some heathen land. These things were very trying to us, and caused our hearts to bleed for anguish. We felt we had no home in this world, and no friend, but each other. Our friends at Serampore were extremely surprised when we wrote them a letter requesting baptism, as they had known nothing of our having had any doubts on the subject. We were baptized on the 6th of September, in the Baptist chapel in Calcutta. Mr. J. preached a sermon at Calcutta on this subject soon after we were baptized, which, in compliance with the request of a number who heard it, he has been preparing for the press. Brother Rice was baptized several weeks after we were. It was a very great relief to our minds to have him join us, as we expected to be entirely alone in a mission."

The day after her baptism, she wrote to her parents a further account of the progress of their inquiries on the subject, and mentions some additional particulars:

"Mr. J. resolved to examine it candidly and prayerfully, let the result be what it would. No one in the mission family knew the state of his mind, as they never conversed with any of us on this subject. I was very fearful he would become a Baptist, and frequently suggested the unhappy consequences if he should. He always answered, that his

duty compelled him to examine the subject, and he hoped he should have a disposition to embrace the truth, though he paid dear for it. I always took the Pedobaptists' side in reasoning with him, although I was as doubtful of the truth of their system as he. After we came to Calcutta, he devoted his whole time to reading on this subject, having obtained the best authors on both sides. After having examined and re-examined the subject, in every way possible, and comparing the sentiments of both Baptists and Pedobaptists with the Scriptures, he was compelled, from a conviction of the truth, to embrace those of the former. I confined my attention almost entirely to the Scriptures, compared the Old with the New Testament, and tried to find something to favour infant baptism, but was convinced it had no foundation there. I examined the covenant of circumcision, and could see no reason for concluding that baptism was to be administered to children, because circumcision was. Thus, my dear parents and sisters, we are both confirmed Baptists, not because we wished to be, but because truth compelled us to be. A renunciation of our former sentiments has caused us more pain, than any thing which ever happened to us through our lives."

Several extracts from her journal will more fully disclose her feelings at this time, and will show how reluctantly she came to the result:

"*Aug.* 10. Besides the trials occasioned by the orders of government, I see another heavy trial just coming upon me. Mr. J.'s mind has been for some time much exercised in regard to baptism. He has been lately examining the subject more closely. All his prejudices are in favour of Pedobaptism; but he wishes to know the truth, and be guided in the path of duty. If he should renounce his former sentiments, he must offend his friends at home, hazard his reputation, and, what is still more trying, be separated from his missionary associates.

"23. I have been much distressed the week past, in view of the probable separation between our missionary brethren and ourselves. Mr. J. feels convinced from Scripture, that he has never been baptized, and that he cannot conscientiously administer baptism to infants. This change of sentiment must necessarily produce a separation. As we are perfectly united with our brethren in every other respect, and are much attached to them, it is inexpressibly painful to leave them, and go alone to a separate sta-

tion. But every sacrifice that duty requires, must be made. I do not myself feel satisfied on the subject of baptism, having never given it a thorough examination. But I see many difficulties in the Pedobaptist theory, and must acknowledge that the face of Scripture does favour the Baptist sentiments. I intend to persevere in examining the subject, and hope that I shall be disposed to embrace the truth, whatever it may be. It is painfully mortifying to my natural feelings, to think seriously of renouncing a system which I have been taught from infancy to believe and respect, and embrace one which I have been taught to despise. O that the Spirit of God may enlighten and direct my mind—may prevent my retaining an old error, or embracing a new one!

"*Sept.* 1. I have been examining the subject of baptism for some time past, and, contrary to my prejudices and my wishes, am compelled to believe, that believers' baptism alone is found in Scripture. If ever I sought to know the truth; if ever I looked up to the Father of lights; if ever I gave up myself to the inspired word, I have done so during this investigation. And the result is, that, laying aside my former prejudices and systems, and fairly appealing to the Scriptures, I feel convinced that nothing really can be said in favour of infant baptism or sprinkling. We expect soon to be baptized. O may our hearts be prepared for that holy ordinance! and as we are baptized into a profession of Christ, may we put on Christ, and walk worthy of the high vocation wherewith we are called. But in consequence of our performance of this duty, we must make some very painful sacrifices. We must be separated from our dear missionary associates, and labour alone in some isolated spot. We must expect to be treated with contempt, and cast off by many of our American friends—forfeit the character we have in our native land, and probably have to labour for our own support, wherever we are stationed. O, our heavenly Father, wilt thou be our friend. Wilt thou protect us, enable us to live to thy glory, and make us useful in some retired part of this eastern world, in leading a few precious souls to embrace that Saviour whom we love and desire to serve.

"5. Every week and day convinces me of the goodness and care of my Heavenly Father. When prospects are dark and gloomy, when my soul is cast down with distressing apprehensions, he leads me to feel my dependence on him, and lean on the bosom of Infinite Love. I am

now willing to acquiesce in the divine dealings with us, and go alone with Mr. J. to that place which providence shall direct. I feel confident that Jesus will go with us, and direct our steps; and in that case, it is of little consequence whether we have more or less society. When I consider how short my life will probably be, and how soon the eternal world will open to my view, I wonder at myself for having had so much anxiety about the place where, and the circumstances in which, I shall spend these few days. O for a true missionary spirit, and a willingness to suffer all things for the cause of Christ.

"*Oct.* 2. Have had an uncommon sense of divine things, for some time past, and found great consolation in committing all my concerns into the hands of a faithful God. For several days, my mind has been so much impressed with the goodness of God, that I could not help repeating to myself, How good is God! O for such an habitual sense of his moral perfections as banishes all anxiety and distrust.

"*Nov.* 1, Sabbath. Another opportunity of celebrating the love of Jesus at his table. It has been a sweet season to my soul, a season of renewed dedication of myself to his service. I never saw a more striking display of the love of God, than was manifested in those who came around the communion table, and who have been emphatically called from the highways and hedges—Hindoos and Portuguese, Armenians and Musselmans, could join with Europeans and Americans, in commemorating the dying love of Jesus. Surely nothing but divine grace could have removed prejudices, early and inveterate, from the minds of these different characters, and united them in the same sentiments and pursuits.

"Brother Rice was this day baptized. He has been examining the subject for some time, and finally became convinced that it was his duty to be baptized in Christ's appointed way. I consider it a singular favour, that God has given us one of our brethren to be our companion in travels, our associate and fellow labourer in missionary work."

Mr. Judson, in a letter to Dr. Bolles, of Salem, dated Calcutta, Sept. 1, 1812, says:

"Within a few months, I have experienced an entire change of sentiments on the subject of Baptism. My doubts concerning the correctness of my former system of belief, commenced during my passage from America to this

country; and after many painful trials, which none can know, but those who are taught to relinquish a system in which they had been educated, I settled down in the full persuasion, that the immersion of a professing believer in Christ is the only Christian baptism.

"Mrs. Judson is united with me in this persuasion. We have signified our views and wishes to the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, and expect to be baptized in this city next Lord's-day.

"A separation from my missionary brethren, and a dissolution of my connexion with the Board of Commissioners, seem to be necessary consequences. The Missionaries at Serampore are exerting themselves to the utmost of their ability, in managing and supporting their extensive and complicated mission.

"Under these circumstances, I look to you. Alone, in this foreign, heathen land, I make my appeal to those whom, with their permission, I will call *my Baptist brethren* in the United States."

The Baptist Missionaries at Serampore had no agency in producing this change. Dr. Carey, in a letter to Dr. Staughton, dated Oct. 20, 1812, says:

"Since their arrival in Bengal, brother and sister Judson have been baptized. Judson has since that preached the best sermon upon Baptism that I ever heard on the subject, which we intend to print.* I yesterday heard that brother Rice had also fully made up his mind upon baptism.

"As none of us had conversed with brother Judson before he showed strong symptoms of a tendency towards believers' baptism, I inquired of him what had occasioned the change. He told me, that on the voyage, he had thought much about the circumstance that he was coming to Serampore, where all were Baptists; that he should, in all probability, have occasion to defend infant sprinkling among us; and that in consequence, he set himself to examine into the grounds of Pedobaptism. This ended in a conviction, that it has no foundation in the Word of God, and occasioned a revolution in his sentiments, which was nearly complete before he arrived in India. He mentioned his doubts, and convictions to Mrs. J. which operated to her conviction also, and they were both of them publickly baptized at Calcutta. I expect, however, that he will

* Three editions of this Sermon have been published in Boston.

give the account of this change in an appendix to his sermon, which will, of course, be more correct than my statement.

"Brother Rice was, on the voyage, thought by our brethren to be the most obstinate friend of Pedobaptism of any of the Missionaries. I cannot tell what has led to this change of sentiment, nor had I any suspicion of it till one morning, when he came before I was up, to examine my Greek Testament; from some questions which he asked that morning, I began to suspect that he was inquiring: but I yesterday heard that he was decidedly on the side of believers' baptism. I expect, therefore, that he will soon be baptized."

These extracts have been made, for the purpose of silencing forever the imputation of unworthy motives, which some persons have attributed to these Missionaries. If a change of opinion was ever made deliberately and conscientiously, it was this. Every possible motive but the fear of God and the love of truth, impelled them in the opposite direction. To this subject, we shall not have occasion to recur.

Some extracts will now be given from Mrs. J.'s journal, beginning a short time before her arrival at the Isle of France.* Several of the facts to which she refers, have been already mentioned; but these statements of her feelings will be read with more convenience and interest in a connected series:

"*Dec.* 20. Have enjoyed religion very little, since I came on board this vessel, (on the passage from Bengal to the Isle of France.) In secret prayer, I am so much troubled with vain and wandering thoughts, and have so little sense of the divine presence, and so little enjoyment of God, that I know I am making no advances, in preparation for usefulness among the heathen. Yet in my dullest frames, the idea of finding myself in the midst of them at last, encourages me to hope, that God will finally make me useful, in enlightening and saving some of their precious souls.

"22. This day closes the twenty-third year of my life. I have been reflecting on the many favours I have received,

* The Isle of France is situated in the Indian Ocean, in about one hundred and thirty degrees east longitude, and twenty degrees south latitude. It is about thirty-three miles long, and twenty-four broad from east to west. It was captured from the French by the English, who still retain possession of it.

and the ingratitude of which I have been guilty the past year; and my heart has been uncommonly affected by the review. In the course of the past year, I have assumed a new name, and new relative duties—left my father's house, the circle of my dear friends, my beloved native land—and have been safely conducted across the ocean. In these events, I would acknowledge the kind hand of my heavenly Father. In changing my name, he has allowed me to take the name of one, who loves the cause of Christ, and makes the promotion of it the business of his life—one, who is, in every respect, the most calculated to make me happy and useful, of all the persons I have ever seen. I would also acknowledge the hand of God, in supporting me through the trying scene of leaving my friends, and in making my voyage so comfortable and happy. Nor has our heavenly Father forsaken us, in this part of the world, but has raised us up friends in a strange land, has preserved our lives and our health, in an uncongenial climate, has led us to examine the truths of his word, and given us clearer views, than ever before, of the ordinances of his house. He has afflicted us, it is true; but many favourable circumstances are not to be forgotten. And he is now carrying us to a land, where we have some hope of finding a home for life. When again I reflect on the returns I have made for so much kindness, my heart sinks within me. I feel, that I have misused all the favours and privileges I have enjoyed, and though never under so great obligation, was never so guilty, so unworthy, so unqualified to serve him. But I renewedly commend myself to his mercy, and implore him to forgive my sins, to cleanse my pollutions, and enable me henceforth to live to him, and to him alone.

"30. Very light winds for several days. Make slow progress. Shall probably arrive at the Isle of France, in the most dangerous season, when there are frequent hurricanes and storms on the coast. I have been trying to feel willing to die, at any time, and under any circumstances, that God shall appoint. But I find my nature shrinks from the idea of being shipwrecked and sunk amid the waves. This shows me how unlike I am to those holy martyrs, who rejoiced to meet death, in the most horrid forms. I have enjoyed religion but little on board this ship, feeling an uncommon degree of slothfulness and inactivity. Spent some time, last evening, in prayer for awakening and restoring grace. I greatly feel the need of more confidence in God, and reliance on the Saviour, that when danger and death

approach, I may composedly resign myself into his hands, and cheerfully wait his will.

"*Jan.* 17, 1813. Have at last arrived in port; but O what news, what distressing news! Harriet is dead. Harriet, my dear friend, my earliest associate in the Mission, is no more. O death, thou destroyer of domestick felicity, could not this wide world afford victims sufficient to satisfy thy cravings, without entering the family of a solitary few, whose comfort and happiness depended much on the society of each other? Could not this infant mission be shielded from thy shafts? But thou hast only executed the commission of a higher power. Though thou hast come, clothed in thy usual garb, thou wast sent by a kind Father to release his child from toil and pain. Be still, then, my heart, and know that God has done it. Just and right are thy ways, O thou King of saints! Who would not fear thee? Who would not love thee?

"18. Brother Newell has just been on board. Poor, disconsolate, broken hearted widower. He has borne his afflictions alone, without a single Christian friend to comfort his heart. His feelings allow him to give us a few broken hints only of Harriet's death. Poor girl, she suffered much. She became a mother on board ship, where she was exposed to the wet weather, and took a cold, which terminated in consumption. She died tranquil and happy, longing for the hour of her release. And she is happy now—all her trials over—all her tears wiped away. She is gone, and I am left behind, still to endure the trials of a missionary life. O that this severe dispensation may be sanctified to my soul; and may I be prepared to follow my dear departed sister.

"23. No prospect of remaining long on this island. It seems as if there was no resting place for me on earth. O when will my wanderings terminate? When shall I find some little spot, that I can call my home, while in this world? Yet I rejoice in all thy dealings, O my heavenly Father; for thou dost support me, under every trial, and enable me to lean on thee. Thou dost make me feel the sweetness of deriving comfort from thee, when worldly comforts fail. Thou dost not suffer me to sink down in despondency, but enablest me to look forward with joy, to a state of heavenly rest and happiness. There I shall have to wander no more, suffer no more; the face of Jesus will be unveiled, and I shall rest in the arms of love, through all eternity.

"31. Sabbath. Was taken very ill during the night, but am now somewhat relieved. My illness has led me to think of death, and inquire whether I am prepared for that solemn event. I think I can say, that I feel happy in the prospect. And yet my heart feels a pang at the thought of leaving my dear husband to bear alone the trials and fatigues of a missionary life. I am willing, I should be thankful to live longer on his account, and for the sake also of labouring among the heathen. But the kind of life I lead, induces me to look at the grave with more composure than I otherwise should do, and appreciate the worth of that religion which can make us happy when stripped of earthly comforts—and happier still, in view of the eternal world.

"Mr. J. has gone to preach to the soldiers, and brother Rice to conduct worship in the hospital; so that being quite alone, I have sought and enjoyed a precious season of prayer and communion with God. O for a closer walk with God, and more fervour in the performance of religious duties. O that I could fill up every moment with service acceptable to the dear Redeemer.

"*Feb.* 12. Some religious enjoyment, but guilty of much stupidity, hardness of heart, and wandering thoughts. Have felt some longing desires to be free from sin, and present with the Saviour. Formerly, I was very desirous of living a long life—death generally appeared as the king of terrors. But of late, I have wished that my pilgrimage would soon terminate; and death and the grave have worn an inviting appearance. This change of feeling is not occasioned by any present distress or discontent with life, for my days are tranquil and happy. Perhaps these new desires are a prelude to my speedy departure from this world. O that this may be the case, and that I may, in this solemn transporting hour, adopt these lines of Watts:—

'Joyful, with all the strength I have,
My quivering lips shall sing,
Where is thy boasted vict'ry, grave?
And where's the monster's sting.'

"28. Had a special season of prayer this evening, to confess my sins, and bewail the depravity of my heart. Had some faint views of the infinite excellence of God, which caused me to mourn that I sin so much against him, and to long for strength to vanquish my spiritual foes. Felt happy that God reigns; that he has a church in this world, on which he has set his love, having redeemed it

with the blood of his own dear Son. But O how seldom do I get near to God, or have any sense of divine things. At what a poor, low rate I live. If a Christian, surely I am the least, the vilest, entirely unworthy the notice of an infinite God. Yet Jesus can be honoured, in the salvation of one so mean, so unworthy. Divine grace will be more conspicuous, than in the salvation of those, who have less to be forgiven. I will still hope in thy mercy, O infinite Redeemer—that thou wilt enable me to persevere in thy service, and finally save my sinful soul.

"*March* 7, Sabbath. I am alone, as usual, on the Sabbath. Have been spending the forenoon in self-examination and prayer. Much distressed on reviewing my exercises and feelings, for some days past. I see that I have greatly declined in religion; have, less frequently than formerly, affecting views of my own sinfulness, and refreshing views of the divine character. O that I might live a more holy life! I would be more watchful, more prayerful, more willing to deny myself, that I may live near to God; but in my own strength I can do nothing. If Jesus is pleased to strengthen me, and give me a spirit of perseverance, it will be easy for me to keep his commandments. But if not, I shall wither and die; I shall give up the contest, and my sins will come off conquerors. O Jesus, prevent it. My sins are thine enemies as well as mine. Let them not triumph over one, who humbly dares to hope that she loves thee, and who now gives herself entirely to thee. Thou wilt not, O my Saviour, desert me at last. Thou knowest I have left my native land, and the comforts of social life, from desire to serve thee, and comply with the clear dictates of duty. And now, when I have but few comforts left, O give me the enjoyment of thy presence. Give me thyself, and I ask no more. I will be satisfied with this as my portion in life, and my eternal portion beyond the grave.

"13. Brother Rice has just left us, and taken passage for America. Mr. J. and I are now entirely alone—not one remaining friend in this part of the world. The scenes through which we pass are calculated to remind us, that this world is not our home, and that we are fast verging towards the grave. No matter how soon we leave this world, if we only live to God, while we live. In that case, to die is gain. Yet we are willing, and even desirous to live a few years, that we may serve God among the heathen, and do something towards spreading a knowledge of the Saviour, in this benighted world.

"30. Have been confined to my bed for a fortnight past. God has mercifully carried me through a scene of great pain and weakness, and prevented many evils which my ignorance might have occasioned. May I be grateful for divine mercies received, and humbly devote to his service, the life he has spared, and the health and strength he has so far restored.

"I have felt a little revived of late, and long more than ever to get settled among the heathen, and begin to do something for the cause of Jesus. I feel that I have been too worldly-minded, too much concerned about my own comfort and convenience, and too indolent, since I have been engaged in my great undertaking. Resolved, through divine grace, to be more concerned for the prosperity of Zion, and to improve my time more diligently than I have ever done.

"*April* 10. Have just returned from Harriet's grave—not able to visit it before, on account of the distance. The visit revived many painful, solemn feelings. But a little while ago, she was with us on board ship, and joined us daily in prayer and praise. Now her body is crumbling to dust, in a land of strangers, and her immortal spirit has doubtless joined the company of holy spirits around the throne, where she can sing in much more exalted strains, than when a prisoner here below. I was struck on beholding a large cross in the centre of the cemetery, higher than any of the grave-stones. This reminded me of the triumph of the cross over death and the grave, a triumph in which every saint will at last partake, and be crowned with eternal life. O how animating the thought, that Jesus has himself entered the grave, and opened a path to eternal glory. He is with his disciples when they enter the gloomy passage. He was with my dear departed sister. O may he be with me.

"23. I am astonished to find my thoughts so vain and worldly, when I have so little connexion with the world. Alas, I can do nothing of myself. I cannot, in my own strength, subdue one sinful feeling, or even think a good thought. But I see one, who is able to do all things. Yes, blessed Saviour, thy blood cleanseth from all sin, and if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. Vile and guilty as I am, on thee I hang all my hopes; to thee I come for pardoning and sanctifying grace. O reject me not, cast me not off; but glorify the riches of that grace, which can save a soul, so unholy, so undeserving."

To her Sisters.

"*Isle of France—Port Louis, March* 12, 1813.

"My dear Sisters,

"A circumstance took place this evening, the recital of which, I think, will interest *your* feelings, and which greatly encourages *me* to plead the cause of humanity whenever an opportunity offers. Last night I heard a considerable noise in the yard in which we live, connected with another family. We went to the door and saw a female slave with her hands tied behind her, and her mistress beating her with a club, in a most dreadful manner. My blood run cold within me, and I could quietly see it no longer. I went up to the mistress, and in broken French, asked her to stop, and what her servant had done. She immediately stopped, and told me that her servant was very bad, and had lately run away. I talked with her till her anger appeared to be abated, and she concluded her punishment with flinging the club she had in her hands at the poor creature's head, which made the blood run down on her garment. The slave continued with her hands tied behind her all night. They were untied this morning, and she spent the day in labour, which made me conclude she would be punished no more. But this evening I saw a large chain brought into the yard, with a ring at one end, just large enough to go round her neck. On this ring were fixed two pieces of iron about an inch wide and four inches long, which would come on each side of her face to prevent her eating. The chain was as large and heavy as an ox chain, and reached from her neck to the ground. The ring was fastened with a lock and key. The poor creature stood trembling while they were preparing to put the chain on her. The mistress' rage again rekindled at seeing her, and she began beating her again, as the night before. I went to her again, and begged she would stop. She did, but so full of anger that she could hardly speak. When she had become a little calm, I asked her if she could not forgive her servant. I told her that her servant was very bad, but that she would be very good to forgive her. She made me to understand that she would forgive her, because *I* had asked her; but she would not have her servant to think it was out of any favour to her. She told her slave that she forgave her, because I requested it. The slave came, knelt and kissed my feet, and said, 'Mercy, madam—mercy,

madam,' meaning, Thank you, madam. I could scarcely forbear weeping at her gratitude. The mistress promised me the chain should not be put on her, and ordered it carried away. I have felt very happy this evening, that this poor slave can lie down and sleep without that heavy chain. How happy are the inhabitants of New-England, who witness no such scenes of cruelty, and where every servant has his freedom as well as his master. But O, my dear sisters, how much more wretched is the spiritual than the temporal state of these slaves. They have none to tell them of their danger, none to lead them to that Saviour who is equally the friend of the slave and the master.

"We have sometimes thought of staying on this island, as Missionaries are really needed here. But when we compare this population with many other places which are equally needy, we cannot feel justified in staying here. The governor of this island would patronize a mission, and would be pleased to have us continue here. Mr. J. and brother Rice preach every Sabbath to the English soldiers. We long to get to the place where we shall spend the remainder of our lives in instructing the heathen. I want one of you with me very much, as I am entirely alone. I wish it was possible for one of you to come. A voyage from America here looks trifling to what it did when I was in America. I expect to take one or two more voyages before we are settled. How happy should I feel to spend one evening at home, and give you an account of the scenes through which we have passed. But that happiness I do not expect to enjoy. I often look at death with very animating feelings. Then I hope to meet all my friends, to be no more separated. Let us, my sisters, live near to God, and make it our only business to promote his glory. Then we shall be prepared for a happy meeting, and the trials through which we have passed in this life will only heighten our felicity."

"*May* 6. Have been distressed for some days, on account of the gloomy prospect before us. We have engaged a passage to Madras, and expect soon to embark, not knowing what will befal us there. We shall probably meet with great difficulties and trials; and we know not to what part of the world we shall have next to direct our course. Every thing respecting our little mission is involved in uncertainty. I find it hard to live by faith, and confide en-

tirely in God, when the way is dark before me. But if the way were plain and easy, where would be the room for confidence in God? Instead, then, of murmuring and complaining, let me rejoice and be thankful that my heavenly Father compels me to trust in him, by removing those things, on which we are naturally inclined to lean. I daily feel my unfitness for the great work, which I have undertaken, and hope that God is making use of these trials to fit me for future life among the heathen. O, if our trials may be then sanctified, we will rejoice; nor in all thy chastisements, O blessed Jesus, will we wish to have the rod removed, until thou hast effectually subdued us to thyself."

It was thought expedient that Mr. Rice should return to America, for the purpose of exciting the attention of the Baptist churches in this country. He accordingly sailed for the United States, in March, 1813. He was welcomed on his arrival with great affection, and was successful, in a very short time, in awakening such a spirit of missionary exertion in the Baptist churches, that a large number of Missionary Societies were formed in various parts of the country; and in April, 1814, the Baptist General Convention was formed in Philadelphia.* One of the first acts of the Convention was to appoint Mr. and Mrs. Judson as their Missionaries, leaving it to their discretion to select a field of labour. Mr. Rice, also, was appointed a Missionary, but was requested to prosecute, for a while, his zealous and successful agency in forming Auxiliary Societies, and collecting funds.

We will now return to Mr. and Mrs. Judson. After long deliberation as to the course which they should pursue in their present embarrassing and unforeseen condition, they resolved, before Mr. Rice's departure for America,

* It has since been called "The General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions, and for other important objects relating to the Redeemer's kingdom." It holds its session once in three years. It is composed of "Delegates from the Missionary Societies, Associations, Churches, and other religious bodies of the Baptist Denomination, which shall annually contribute to the funds, under the direction of this body, a sum amounting to at least one hundred dollars, each being entitled to one representative and vote, and for every additional sum of one hundred dollars, one additional representative and vote shall be allowed." The executive business is performed by a Board, consisting of a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding and a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and thirty Managers.

to attempt a mission at Penang, or Prince of Wales' Island, situated on the coast of Malacca, and inhabited by Malays. As no passage to that island could be obtained from the Isle of France, they resolved to visit Madras, with the hope of obtaining a passage thence to Penang. They accordingly sailed for Madras in May, 1813. They had a pleasant passage. Mrs. J.'s journal contains this memorandum, during the voyage :

"*June* 1. Just passing the island of Ceylon, and expect to reach Madras in three days. I have this day renewedly given myself to God, to be used and disposed of as he sees best. I feel that I am but an empty vessel which must be cleansed and filled with grace, or remain forever empty, forever useless. If ever such a poor creature as I am does any good, it will be entirely owing to the sovereign grace of God, to his own self-moving goodness, inclining him to give grace to one so depraved, so unworthy as I am."

The Missionaries arrived at Madras in June.* They were kindly received and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Loveless, English Missionaries stationed there, and by other friends of Christ in that city. But here they were disappointed. No passage for Penang could be procured. Fearful that the English government in Bengal would, on learning their arrival, send them to England, they resolved to take passage in a vessel bound to Rangoon. Accordingly, after a stay at Madras of a few days, they sailed for Rangoon. Thus, by a wonderful series of providential occurrences, were they impelled, contrary to their expectations and plans, to the Burman empire. Mrs. J. says :

"*June* 20. We have at last concluded, in our distress, to go to Rangoon, as there is no vessel about to sail for any other place, ere it will be too late to escape a second arrest. O, our heavenly Father, direct us aright ! Where wilt thou have us go ? What wilt thou have us do ? Our only hope is in thee, and to thee alone we look for protection. O, let this mission yet live before thee, notwithstanding all opposition, and be instrumental of winning souls to Jesus in some heathen land. It is our present purpose to make Rangoon

* Madras is the seat of one of the Presidencies of Hindostan. It is situated on the coast of Coromandel, in about eighty degrees east longitude, and thirteen degrees north latitude, and is about one thousand miles southwest from Calcutta. In 1794, the population of the city of Madras was 300,000.

our final residence, if we find it practicable to live in such a place; otherwise, to go thence to Penang, or some of the Malay islands. But I most sincerely hope that we shall be able to remain at Rangoon, among the Burmans, a people who have never heard the sound of the Gospel, or read, in their own language, of the love of Christ. Though our trials may be great, and our privations many and severe, yet the presence of Jesus can make us happy, and the consciousness that we have sacrificed all for his dear cause, and are endeavouring to labour for the salvation of immortal souls, will enable us to bear our privations and trials with some degree of satisfaction and delight. The poor Burmans are entirely destitute of those consolations and joys which constitute our happiness; and why should we be unwilling to part with a few fleeting, inconsiderable comforts, for the sake of making them sharers with us in joys exalted as heaven, durable as eternity! We cannot expect to do much, in such a rough, uncultivated field; yet if we may be instrumental in removing some of the rubbish, and preparing the way for others, it will be a sufficient reward. I have been accustomed to view this field of labour, with dread and terror; but I now feel perfectly willing to make it my home the rest of my life. I even feel a degree of pleasure, in the thought of living beyond the temptations peculiar to European settlements in the East. Our hearts will perhaps be more entirely devoted to our work, and the care of our own souls. To-morrow we expect to leave this place, (Madras,) and the few friends we have found here. Adieu to polished, refined Christian society. Our lot is not cast among you, but among pagans, among barbarians, whose tender mercies are cruel. Indeed we voluntarily forsake *you*, and for Jesus' sake, choose the latter for our associates. O may we be prepared for the pure and polished society of heaven, composed of the followers of the Lamb, whose robes have been washed in his blood.

"22. Embarked on board the Georgiana for Rangoon. Our good friend, Mr. B. came on board, and spent the day with us—a great comfort in our lonely situation.* O the happy day will soon come, when we shall again meet all our Christian friends who are now scattered in so many dif-

* A valuable European female servant, whom Mrs. J. had engaged to accompany her, fell dead on the deck, just before the vessel sailed, thus leaving her without any female attendant.

ferent parts of the world—meet to part no more, in our heavenly Father's house, where all our trials will be over, all our sighs be hushed, and all our tears forever wiped away.

'O glorious hour, O blest abode!
We shall be *near* and *like* our God.'

"30. Still on our way to Rangoon. Have been confined to my bed for several days, but am now a little better. My thoughts are uncommonly fixed on divine things, and earnestly desirous of being prepared to glorify God amid the trials that are before us. I feel happier than ever, that we have chosen Rangoon for our field of labour, and cannot but hope that we shall yet see the goodness of the Lord, in the land of the living."

The passage to Rangoon was unpleasant and dangerous. The vessel was old, and was in imminent peril of shipwreck; but by the blessing of God, the Missionaries, in July, 1813, arrived safely at Rangoon, the place where their Saviour had designed they should labour for him many years, and where they were to be the instruments of gathering a little Church of redeemed Burmans. They were guided hither by the special providence of God. No one, who reviews the series of occurrences from the time of their arrival in Calcutta, can doubt that God was preparing the way for establishing the Burman Mission, and for summoning the American Baptist churches to the holy labours and pleasures of the missionary enterprise. Can any American Baptist be blind to the indications of duty, in reference to this mission; or deaf to that voice of providence, which calls on the churches of our denomination to consider themselves as pledged to the Saviour to sustain this mission, till Burmah shall be converted to God?

The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in the United States were so fully convinced of their duty to sustain the mission, that in the close of the year 1815, they appointed Mr. George H. Hough and his wife as Missionaries, to assist Mr. Judson. Mr. Hough had acquired a knowledge of the printing business, and would, it was hoped, be able to benefit the Burmans, by the agency of the press, as well as by preaching the Gospel. They sailed from Philadelphia, in December, 1815, for Calcutta.

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of the Geography, History, Religion, Language, &c. of the Burman Empire.

The Burman empire is situated in that part of the continent of Asia, lying between Hindostan and China, and so far partaking of the characteristicks of each, as to be properly designated by the compound epithet, *Chin-India*, which Malte-Brun, the geographer, has bestowed on it.

Previously to the recent war between the British and the Burmans, the empire included the kingdom of Ava, and the conquered provinces of Cassay and Arracan, on the west; Lowashan and Yunshan, on the east; and Pegu, Martaban, Tenasserim, Mergui, Tavoy, and Junkseylon on the south. It covered a space between the ninth and twenty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and between the ninety-second and one hundred and fourth of east longitude, being about one thousand and fifty geographical miles in length, and six hundred in breadth. It probably contained one hundred and ninety-four thousand square miles. By the late treaty, the British retain the province of Arracan, on the west; and on the south, Yeh, Tavoy and Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies, taking the Salwen river as the line of demarkation on that frontier. These cessions have very considerably diminished the extent, and the power of the Burman empire, as may be seen by an inspection of the map; but the precise limits of the portions lost and retained are not sufficiently known to enable us to state them with much accuracy. Nor is it important for the purposes of this work, since the field for missionary effort is not changed by these political events, though greater facilities are afforded by this extension of the British sway.

History.—The history of the Burman empire resembles that of all the other oriental nations. It is a melancholy detail of usurpations and conquests, of sanguinary wars between rival chiefs, and of the subjection of many petty states to the ambition and tyranny of one more powerful kingdom. Ava Proper is the original state, which has successively subdued the other provinces which compose the empire. Ava was itself at one time subject to the King of Pegu; but in the sixteenth century, its numerous and warlike inhabitants revolted, and obtained possession of the provinces of Ava and Martaban. Malte-Brun says:

"The Burmans continued masters of the country till 1740, when a civil war broke out in consequence of a revolt in the conquered provinces of Pegu, and was prosecuted on both sides with savage ferocity. In 1750 and 1751, the Peguans, with the aid of arms imported by Europeans, and the active services of some Dutch and Portuguese, beat their rivals, and in 1752, Ava, the capital, surrendered to them at discretion. Dweepdee, the last of a long line of Burman kings, was taken prisoner, with all his family, except two sons, who escaped into Siam. Binga Della, king of Pegu, returned to his hereditary dominions, leaving the government of Ava to his son Apporasa. When the conquest appeared complete and settled, one of those extraordinary characters which Providence sometimes raises up to change the destinies of nations, now appeared. This was a Burman, called Alompra, a man of obscure birth, known by the name of "the huntsman," and the chief of Manchaboo, then a poor village. Having collected around him one hundred picked men, he defeated the Peguan detachments in small skirmishes. Improving in experience, and acquiring confidence in his own strength, he attracted more numerous followers; and in the autumn of 1753, suddenly advanced, and obtained possession of Ava. Defeating the king of Pegu, in several subsequent engagements, he invaded his territories, and in three months took his capital, which he gave up to indiscriminate plunder and carnage. Having sustained some indignities from the Siamese, he invaded Siam; but, during the seige of the metropolis of that kingdom, his career of conquest was suddenly terminated in 1760 by a fatal disease, in the fiftieth year of his age, and ninth of his reign. Alompra was succeeded by his son Namdojee Praw, a minor. Shembuan, the uncle of this prince, brother to Alompra, acted as regent, and, on the death of his nephew, assumed the crown. Shembuan declared war against the Siamese, and took their capital in 1766, but did not retain permanent possession of that country. In 1767 the empire was invaded by a Chinese army, 50,000 strong, on the side of the Yunnan, which advanced as far as a village called Chiboo; but the Burmans cut off their supplies, and then destroyed the whole of them, except 2500, who were sent in fetters to the Burman capital, compelled to labour in their respective trades, and encouraged to marry Burman wives, and become naturalized subjects. Shembuan subdued Cassay in 1774, and died in 1776. His son and successor, Chenguza, a debauched and bloody tyrant, was de-

throned, and put to death in 1782, in a conspiracy headed by his own uncle Minderagee, who took possession of the government. This prince was the fourth son of Alompra In 1783 he sent a fleet of boats against Arracan, which he easily conquered. He then marched against Siam, where he met with some checks; and, finding himself unable to retain possession of the interior, was obliged to content himself with the dominion of its western coast, as far south as Mergui, including the two important sea ports of Tavoy and Mergui, which were ceded to him by a treaty of peace in 1793.

"In 1795 his Burman majesty marched an army of 5000 men into the English province of Chittagong, holding an army of 20,000 in readiness to join them in Arracan. His object was to claim three notorious robbers, who had taken refuge in that country. This force was confronted by a strong detachment from Calcutta. The affair was amicably adjusted by the delivery of the refugees, whose enormous guilt was established, and the Burmans withdrew without committing any disorders. In June, 1819, Minderagee Praw died, and was succeeded by his grandson. The junior branches of the family revolted, and scenes of massacre ensued."*

Population.—It is impossible to make a statement with any pretensions to accuracy, relative to the population of countries so little known to Europeans, where no regular census is published, and where the pride of the government and people inclines them to exaggerate their numbers and power. The population of Burmah was estimated by Colonel Symes, in 1795, at seventeen millions; by Captain Cox, in 1800, at no more than eight millions; and Captain Canning, in 1810, believed that this estimate exceeded the truth. Snodgrass, in his Burmese War, published in 1827, says, "The population of Ava (meaning, by this term, the whole empire) has been greatly overrated by travellers, their accounts being founded on the thickly peopled banks of the rivers, or drawn from the natives, who have estimated their numbers beyond the truth." There can be no doubt, however, that the empire contains several millions of immortal beings, who are *without God, and having no hope in the world.*

Climate, &c.—"Though this empire," says Malte-Brun, "extends into the torrid zone, it enjoys a temperate climate,

* Malte-Brun, Book li. pp. 268, 269, Philadelphia edition.

in consequence of the elevation of its territory. The healthy and robust constitutions of the natives show the salubrity of the climate. The seasons are regular. Extreme cold is unknown, and the intense heat which precedes the rainy season is of short duration. This country exhibits every variety of soil and exposure. A flat marshy delta extends along the mouths of the Irrawaddy. Beyond this are pleasing hills, picturesque valleys, and majestick mountains. The fertile soil of the southern provinces yields crops of rice equal to those of the finest districts of Bengal. Although the surface is more irregular and mountainous to the north, the plains and valleys, especially those situated on the banks of the great rivers, produce excellent wheat, and the different corn and leguminous crops which are cultivated in Hindostan. Sugar canes, excellent tobacco, indigo, cotton, and the tropical fruits, are indigenous in this favoured country. Agriculture is said to be in an improved state, though the methods followed have never yet been satisfactorily described. In a district to the north-east of Amerapoora, the tea leaf grows, but not equal to that which is produced in China, and seldom used except as a pickle. The teak tree grows in all parts of the country, though properly a native of the mountains. Almost every kind of timber found in Hindostan is produced in the southern parts. Fir grows in the mountains, and turpentine is extracted from it; but the natives do not use the wood in carpentry, being prejudiced against it on account of its softness.

"The plains are well stocked with cattle; but in the neighbourhood of the forests they are exposed to frequent ravages from the tigers, which are very numerous in this country. Pegu abounds in elephants.

"The chief minerals are found in Ava Proper. Six days' journey from Bamoo, near the Chinese frontier, are the gold and silver mines of Badooem. There are also mines of gold, silver, rubies, and sapphires, now open in a mountain called Wooboloo tan, near the river Ken-duem. But the richest are in the neighbourhood of the capital. Precious stones are found in several other parts of the empire. Iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, and sulphur, are in great abundance. Great quantities of very pure amber are dug up near the river, and gold is found in the sands of the mountain streams. One of these in the north, situated between the Ken-duem and the Irrawaddy, is called "the stream of golden sand," (Shoe Lien Kioop.) There are

no diamonds or emeralds in the empire; but it has amethysts, garnets, beautiful chrysolites, and jasper. There are, near Amerapoora, quarries which yield marble equal to the finest in Italy. It is monopolized by the government, and consecrated to the making of images of Guadama. This empire contains celebrated and very productive petroleum wells, which yield a large revenue to government, being retained as a monopoly."*

Character and Manners of the Inhabitants.—The character of the Burmese is undoubtedly very much affected by the nature of their government. They are represented to be indolent, inhospitable, deceitful and crafty. A people oppressed by despotick rulers, and harassed with vexatious taxes, have no motive to steady industry, the fruits of which may be wrested from them by the government, or by subordinate civil agents. The distrust which is engendered, and the fears that such a system awakens, prevent hospitality, and make the people cold hearted, unfeeling, and suspicious. The rapacity of the rulers occasions efforts to conceal property, and produces cunning, falsehood, and perjury. Enterprise and genius are checked, because the individual can hope for no personal advantage from his exertions. Under a better government—such as would be produced by the influence of Christianity—the character of the Burmans would, without doubt, become highly respectable. They possess acute minds, and lively imaginations. They are not fierce nor revengeful. Their domestick relations are generally maintained with affection and fidelity. There is no *cast:* and social intercourse has no other restraints, than those which spring from the nature of their religion and government. Malte-Brun says:

"The Burmans differ remarkably in physical and in moral character from the Hindoos. Lively, impatient, active, and irascible, they have none of the habitual indolence of the natives of Hindostan, nor are they addicted to that gloomy jealousy which prompts so many eastern nations to immure their females in the solitudes of a haram. The sexes have equally free intercourse as in Europe, but they treat the women as an inferior order of beings. Their testimony in a court of justice is less valued. They are often sold or lent to strangers without blame or scruple. They are much engaged in labour, and, on the whole, faithful to the conjugal tie. The Burmans participate of the Chinese physi-

* Malte-Brun, Book li. p. 269.

ognomy. The women, especially in the northern parts, are fairer than those of the Hindoos, but less delicately formed. The men are not tall, but active and muscular. They pluck their beards, and thus give themselves a youthful appearance. Both men and women colour the teeth, and the edges of the eye-lids, with black. Marriages are not contracted before puberty. Polygamy is prohibited, but concubinage is admitted without limitation. The bodies of the dead are buried. They are less delicate and cleanly in their eating than the Hindoos. They kill no domestick animals, being prohibited by their religion, but make abundant use of game. The lower orders eat lizards, guanas, and snakes. They are very indulgent to the manners and customs of strangers. The sitting posture is reckoned among them the most respectful, though this mark of deference has been mistaken by some strangers for an expression of insolence.

"*Manufactures and Commerce.*—The Burmans excel in the art of gilding. The capital maintains a considerable commercial intercourse with Yunnan, the nearest province of China. It exports cotton, amber, ivory, rubies, sapphires, and betel nuts; birds and edible nests from the Eastern Islands; and receives in return raw or manufactured silk, velvets, gold leaf, paper, sweet-meats, and a variety of hardware. By the river Irrawaddy there is a great inland trade in the transport of rice, salt, and pickled sprats from the lower provinces, to support the capital and northern districts. Some foreign articles are brought by Arracan, and carried over the mountains by men, but the greater part by the Irrawaddy. Broad cloth, some hardware, coarse muslins, Cossimbazar silk handkerchiefs, china-ware, and glass, are the leading commodities. Some lac, silver, and precious stones are exported. In 1795 the quantity of timber exported to Madras and Calcutta, amounted to a value of £200, 000 sterling. About 3000 tons of shipping are, in peaceable times, built in this country, and sold in different parts of India. The maritime ports of this empire are more commodiously situated than those of any other power, particularly the harbour of Negrais. The currency consists of silver, bullion, and lead, in small pieces; as the Burmans, like the Chinese, have no coin."*

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* Malte-Brun, Book li. pp. 273, 274.

Government.—"The government is strictly monarchical. The Emperor is an absolute sovereign, and is regarded as the sole lord and proprietor of life and property in his dominions; and without the concurrence of any, his word is irresistible law. Four private ministers of state, (called Atwenwoon) and four publick ministers of state, (Woongyee) are the organs of administration. The latter compose the supreme court of the empire, (Tlowtdau) in the name of which all imperial edicts are issued.

"The Burman empire is divided into districts, each of which is governed by a viceroy, (Myoowoon) and a court, (Yongdau.) The district courts are composed of a president, (Yawoon)—chief magistrate, (Sit-kai)—collectors of the port, (Akoukwoon)—auditors, (Narkandau) and secretaries, (Saragyee.)

"The members of the district courts, and the wives, relations, and favourites of viceroys, have also the privilege of holding private courts, and of deciding petty causes, subject to appeal to higher authority."*

"When any thing belonging to the Emperor is mentioned, the epithet "golden" is attached to it. When he is said to have heard any thing, "it has reached the golden ears;" a person admitted to his presence "has been at the golden feet;" the perfume of roses is described as grateful to "the golden nose." The sovereign is sole proprietor of all the elephants in his dominions; and the privilege to keep or ride on one is only granted to men of the first rank. No honours are hereditary. All offices and dignities depend immediately on the crown. The *tsaloe*, or chain, is the badge of nobility; and superiority of rank is signified by the number of cords or of divisions. The council of state consists of the princes of the royal family. Men of rank have their barges dragged by war boats, common water-men not being admitted into the same boat with them. Temporary houses are built for them at the places where they mean to stop in travelling.

"A singularly absurd custom takes place in this country in certain forms of political homage shown to a white elephant, a preternatural animal kept for the purpose, superbly lodged near the royal palace, sumptuously dressed and fed, provided with functionaries like a second sovereign, held next in rank to the king, and superior to the queen, and

* History of the Burman Mission, p. 11.

made to receive presents and other tokens of respect from foreign ambassadors.

"The court of Ava is fully as proud as that of Pekin. The sovereign acknowledges no equal. The punctilios of ceremony are numerous, and rigidly followed; and the utmost guardedness is observed in any diplomatick intercourse with foreign states. The manners of the great are often pleasing, but they are crafty; and the tenures by which they hold their offices render them rapacious. Obliged to give large presents to the king, they have recourse to extortion, speculations in trade, and almost universal monopoly. Great vicissitudes of fortune are occasioned by royal caprice."*

Religion.—The Burmans are idolaters, of the sect of Boodh. This religion is spread over the Burman empire, Siam, Ceylon, Japan, Cochin-China, and the greater part of China Proper. It has been contended, that it was also the ancient religion of India itself, and that the prevailing brahminical superstitions were the invention of later times. It is indeed probable, that all the idolatrous systems of religion, which have ever existed in the world, have had a common origin, and have been modified by the different fancies and corruptions of different nations. The essence of idolatry is every where the same. It is every where "abominable" in its principles and its rites, and every where the cause of indescribable and manifold wretchedness.

It is asserted by Mr. Ward, that two of the six schools of philosophy which once flourished among the Hindoos, taught the same atheistical principles as the disciples of Boodh now maintain; and it is indisputable, that these two sects were numerous before the appearance of Boodh. This personage is said, in Burman books, to have been a son of the king of Benares, and to have been born about the year 600 before Christ. He is supposed to have adopted the atheistical system of these sects, and his principles were espoused and maintained by the successive monarchs of his family, who are charged by the Brahmins with the crime of destroying their religion, and substituting atheism. At length, however, the Brahmins obtained the ascendency, and arming themselves with the civil power, they so effectually purified Hindostan from the offensive heresy, that scarcely a vestige of

* Malte-Brun, Book li. p. 275.

the Boodhist superstition is now to be traced in that country. It found a refuge in Ceylon, and the neighbouring regions; and the most learned Burmans assert, that it was introduced into that empire, about four hundred and fifty years after the death of Boodh, or (as he is more commonly called) Guadama.

The Boodhists believe, that, like the Hindoo Vishnoo, Guadama has had ten incarnations, which are described in the Jatus, amounting, it is said, to five hundred and fifty books. The following summary statement of the principles of Boodhism is copied from the valuable work of Mr. Ward on the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos:

"The Boodhists do not believe in a First Cause; they consider matter as eternal; that every portion of animated existence has in itself its own rise, tendency, and destiny; that the condition of creatures on earth is regulated by works of merit and demerit; that works of merit not only raise individuals to happiness, but, as they prevail, raise the world itself to prosperity: while on the other hand, when vice is predominant, the world degenerates till the universe itself is dissolved. They suppose, however, that there is always some superior deity who has attained to this elevation by religious merit; but they do not regard him as the governor of the world. To the present grand period, comprehending all the time included in a kulpu, they assign five deities, four of whom have already appeared, including Gaudama, or Boodh, whose exaltation continues five thousand years, two thousand three hundred and fifty-six of which had expired A. D. 1814. After the expiration of the five thousand years, another saint will obtain the ascendency, and be deified. Six hundred millions of saints are said to be canonized with each deity, though it is admitted that Boodh took only twenty-four thousand devotees to heaven with him.

"The lowest state of existence is in hell; the next, is that in the forms of brutes: both these are states of punishment. The next ascent is to that of man, which is probationary. The next includes many degrees of honour and happiness up to demi-gods, &c. which are states of reward for works of merit. The ascent to superior deity is from the state of man.

"The Boodhists are taught, that there are four superior heavens, which are not destroyed at the end of a kulpu; that below these, there are twelve other heavens, followed by six inferior heavens; after which follows the earth, then

the world of snakes, and then thirty-two chief hells; to which are to be added, one hundred and twenty hells of milder torments.

"The highest state of glory is absorption. The person who is unchangeable in his resolution, who has obtained a knowledge of things past, present, and to come through one kulpu, who can make himself invisible, go where he pleases, and who has attained to complete abstraction, will enjoy absorption.*

"Those who perform works of merit are admitted to the heavens of the different gods, or are made kings or great men on earth; and those who are wicked are born in the forms of different animals, or consigned to different hells. The happiness of these heavens is wholly sensual.

"The Boodhists believe, that at the end of a kulpu the universe is destroyed. To convey some idea of the extent of this period, the illiterate Cingalese use this comparison: if a man were to ascend a mountain nine miles high, and to renew these journies once in every hundred years, till the mountain were worn down by his feet to an atom, the time required to do this would be nothing to the fourth part of a kulpu.

"Boodh, before his exaltation, taught his followers, that after his ascent, the remains of his body, his doctrine, or an assembly of his disciples, were to be held in equal reverence with himself. When a Cingalese, therefore, approaches an image of Boodh, he says, 'I take refuge in Boodh; I take refuge in his doctrine; I take refuge in his followers.'

"There are five commands delivered to the common Boodhists: the first forbids the destruction of animal life: the second forbids theft: the third adultery: the fourth falsehood; the fifth the use of spirituous liquors. There are other commands for the superior classes, or devotees, which forbid dancing, songs, musick, festivals, perfumes, elegant dresses, elevated seats, &c. Among works of the highest merits, one is the feeding of a hungry infirm tiger with a person's own flesh.

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* The Hindoo idea of absorption is, that the soul is received into the divine essence; but as the Boodhists reject the doctrine of a separate Supreme Spirit, it is difficult to say what are their ideas of absorption. Dr. Buchanan says, (A. Researches, vol. vi. p. 180) Nigban "implies (that is, among the Burmans) exemption from all the miseries incident to humanity, but by no means annihilation."

"The temples erected in honour of Boodh,* in the Burman empire, are of various sizes and forms, as quadrangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, heptagonal, or octagonal. Those of a round spiral form can be erected only by the king, or by persons high in office. An elevated spot is preferred for the erection of these edifices; but where such an elevation cannot be found, the building is erected upon the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth terrace.

"The priests worship at the temples daily, or ought to do so. The worship consists in presenting flowers, incense, rice, beetle-nuts, &c. repeating certain prayers. The priest cleanses the temple, preserves the lights, and receives the offerings. A worshipper may present his own offerings, if he is acquainted with the formulas. The five commands are repeated by a priest twice a day to the people, who stand up and repeat them after him.

"Boodh, as seen in many temples, appears seated upon a throne placed on elephants, or encircled by a hydra, or in the habit of a king, accompanied by his attendants. In most of the modern images, however, he is represented in a sitting posture, with his legs folded, his right hand resting upon his right thigh, and his left upon his lap: a yellow cloth is cast over his left shoulder, which envelopes his right arm. His hair is generally in a curling state, like that of an African; his ears are long, as though distended by heavy ear-rings. The image is generally placed in the centre of the temple, under a small arch prepared for the purpose, or under a small porch of wood, neatly gilded. Images of celestial attendants, male and female, are frequently placed in front of the image.

"It appears evident from their writings, that the ancient religion of the Burmans consisted principally in religious austerities. When a person becomes initiated into the priesthood, he immediately renounces the secular state, lives on alms, and abstains from food after the sun has passed the meridian. The ancient writings of the Burmans mention an order of female priests; but it is likely that these were only female mendicants.

"Priests are forbidden to marry; they are to live by mendicity; are to possess only three garments, a begging dish, a girdle, a razor, a needle, and a cloth to strain the water which they drink, that they may not devour insects.

* "When the author asked a Boodhist, why, since the object of their worship was neither creator nor preserver, they honoured him as God, he was answered, that it was an act of homage to exalted merit."

"The priests reside in houses which are built and offered to them as works of merit. There are numerous colleges, which are built in the style of a palace, by persons of wealth, and in which the boys are taught.

"The priests are the schoolmasters, and teach gratuitously as a work of merit, the children being maintained at home by their parents. If a priest finds a pupil to be of quick parts, he persuades the parents to make him a priest; but if a boy wishes to embrace a secular life after he has been some time in the college, he is at liberty to do so.

"The Burman feasts are held at the full and change of the moon. At these times all publick business is suspended; the people pay their homage to Gaudama, at the temples, presenting to the image, rice, fruits, flowers, candles, &c. Aged people often fast during the whole day. Some visit the colleges, and hear the priests read portions of the Boodhist writings.

"According to the religion of Boodh, there are no distinctions of cast. The Burmans burn their dead with many ceremonies, especially the bodies of the priests."*

The religion of Burmah, then, is, in effect, *atheism;* and the highest reward of piety, the object of earnest desire and unwearied pursuit, is annihilation. How wretched a system is this; how devoid of adequate motives to virtue; and how vacant of consolation! O how must every humane heart, and much more every Christian, desire, that the pure and glorious Gospel may shed its light upon this gross darkness.

Language.—The Burman language is peculiar to itself. We cannot know what affinity it has to some of the Indo-Chinese languages, which are not yet investigated; but it is essentially different from the Sanscrit, the parent of almost all the languages of India Proper, and indeed from every language, that has yet come under the observation of Europeans. This is the common language of the country, for colloquial and other ordinary purposes; though in some of the provinces other dialects are, to some extent, spoken.

It is a very difficult language; and it cost Mr. Judson, though he possessed an uncommon aptitude for the acqui-

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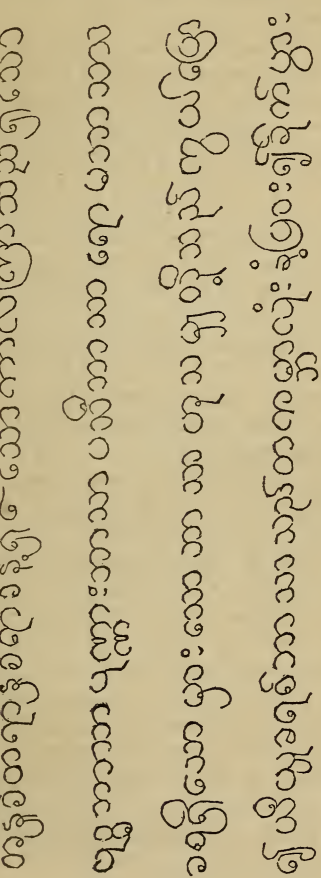
* Ward's View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoo, vol. ii. p. 387—393.

sition of languages, the labour of several years, before he was able to speak and write it with ease. His difficulties, however, were peculiarly great, as there were no grammars, nor dictionaries, nor other aids, to facilitate his progress.

The character in common use appears to the eye of an American to be a series of circular marks. Hence it has been called the *Round O Language*. The following specimen has been engraved for this work.

FROM A TRACT IN BURMAN, BY MR. JUDSON.



TRANSLATION.

About one or two hundred years hence, the religion of Boodh, of Brahma, of Mahomet, and of Rome, together with all other false religions, will disappear and be lost, and the religion of Christ will pervade the whole world.

"It is written from left to right, like the languages of Europe. The common books are composed of the palmyra leaf, on which the letters are engraved with stiles, and are

better executed than those of the Hindoos. Sometimes they write on plates of gilded sheet iron. In a Burman version of the Lord's prayer, the Missionaries could scarcely discover three genuine Sanscrit words; but many syllables are found coinciding with those of the colloquial dialect of the Chinese. A knowledge of letters is very generally diffused. Many read and write the vulgar tongue, though few understand the learned and sacred volumes. The Burmans are fond of poetry and musick; and in the latter, make use of an instrument formed of a series of reeds, on the principle of Pan's reed. They possess epick and religious poems of great celebrity, and recite in verse the exploits of their heroes. Colonel Symes was astonished at the number of books contained in the royal library, where the contents of each chest are written on the outside in letters of gold."*

There is, also, a sacred language, called the *Pali*. It is a dialect of the Sanscrit, and was introduced into Burmah with the religion of Boodh. The sacred books were written in Ceylon, where this form of the Sanscrit had obtained currency, and thence were carried to Burmah. This language became, of course, the language of religion; and gradually intermingled many of its words and forms with the common language. Thus, although the Pali is now a dead language, cultivated by the learned only, some knowledge of it is indispensable to him, who would acquire a perfect knowledge of the Burman, and especially to a Missionary. It is said to be rich, harmonious and flexible; and Malte-Brun affirms, that it is the language of religion, and is used by the priests and the learned, in the whole of Chin-India, except Malacca, Cochin-China, and Tonquin.

It was a wise Providence, which selected, as the pioneer and founder of the Burman Mission, so thorough a scholar, and so able a philologist, as Mr. Judson. He has accomplished a service, of inestimable utility, by acquiring a familiar acquaintance with the Burman and the Pali languages, and preparing a Grammar and a Dictionary, which will render the acquisition of these languages comparatively an easy task to future Missionaries. Had he done no more, his life would have yielded rich fruit to the missionary cause.

* Malte-Brun, vol. ii. p. 274.

CHAPTER VII.

Establishment of the Mission at Rangoon.

Rangoon is the principal seaport of the Burman Empire. It is situated, thirty miles from the sea, on the Rangoon river, one of the outlets of the Irrawaddy. It lies in about 17 degrees north latitude, and 174 degrees east longitude, and is about 670 miles southeast of Calcutta. "The river," says Captain Cox,* "is one of the finest for shipping I have ever seen. It is about six hundred yards wide at Rangoon, the water in general deep from shore to shore, the bottom good, and current moderate." Ships of 800 or 900 tons can come up to the wharves. The town stretches about a mile along the bank of the river, and is not more than a third of a mile broad. In 1795, it contained 5000 taxable houses. In 1812, they had been reduced to 1500, by fire and bad government.† The number of inhabitants, in 1813, was stated by Mr. Judson, to be 40,000. Some of the inhabitants were of Portuguese extraction, and had two or three churches and priests. The Armenians also had one church.

The first Protestant Missionaries who visited Burmah, were Messrs. Chater and Mardon, who went thither from Serampore, in 1807. Mr. Mardon, after a few months left the station, and Mr. Chater was joined by Mr. Felix Carey, the eldest son of Dr. Carey. Soon after, Messrs. Pritchett and Brian, from the London Missionary Society, arrived; but Mr. Brian soon died, and Mr. Pritchett, after a year's residence, removed to Vizagapatam. Mr. Chater remained four years, and made a considerable progress in the language. He translated the Gospel, by Matthew, which was revised by Mr. Carey, and afterwards printed at Serampore. At length Mr. Chater relinquished the mission, and removed to Ceylon. Mr. Carey remained, and was joined by a young man from Calcutta, who soon quitted the station. When Mr. Judson arrived, Mr. Carey had gone to Ava, by order of the king. Thus had every attempt of the English Missionaries failed; and this fact seems to show still more conclusively, that God reserved

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* Cox's Burman Empire, p. 5.

† Malte-Brun, Book li. p. 273.

for the American Baptist Churches the duty of establishing and sustaining the Burman mission.

Mrs. Carey, who was a native of the country, still resided at Rangoon, in the mission house, which Mr. Chater had erected, in a pleasant rural spot, almost half a mile from the walls of the town. The house was built of teak wood, and was large and convenient for that climate, though the inside was unfinished, and the beams and joists were naked. Connected with it were gardens enclosed, containing about two acres of ground, and full of fruit trees of various kinds.

In this quiet spot Mr. and Mrs. J. found a home, and felt that at last they had reached a place, where they could labour for the Saviour. But their situation, even here, was not without trials. Mrs. Judson, in a letter to her parents, dated July 30, 1813, says:

"We felt very gloomy and dejected the first night we arrived, in view of our prospects; but we were enabled to lean on God, and to feel that he was able to support us under the most discouraging circumstances. The next morning I prepared to go on shore, but hardly knew how I should get to Mr. Carey's house, as there was no method of conveyance, except a horse, while I was unable to ride. It was, however, concluded that I should be carried in an arm chair; consequently when I landed, one was provided, through which were put two bamboos, and four of the natives took me on their shoulders. When they had carried me a little way into the town, they set me down under a shade, when great numbers of the natives gathered around, as they had seldom seen an English female. Being sick and weak, I held my head down, which induced many of the native females to come very near, and look under my bonnet. At this I looked up and smiled, at which they set up a loud laugh. They again took me up to carry, and the multitude of natives gave a shout, which much diverted us. They next carried me to a place they call the custom-house. It was a small open shed, in which were seated on mats several natives, who were the custom-house officers. After searching Mr. Judson very closely, they asked liberty for a native female to search me, to which I readily consented. I was then brought to the mission-house, where I have entirely recovered my health."

Her Journal contains some interesting exercises of her mind, for a few weeks after her arrival in Rangoon. It

will be seen that she enjoyed an uncommon degree of communion with God, and felt a solemn pleasure in devoting herself anew to the service of her Redeemer, in the great work of communicating to the Burmans the knowledge of salvation:

"*July* 22. It is now a week since we arrived here. My health is quite restored, and I feel much more contented and happy, than I ever expected to be in such a situation. I think I do enjoy the promises of God, in a higher degree, than ever before, and have attained more true peace of mind and trust in the Saviour. When I look back to my late situation, in that wretched old vessel, without any accommodations—scarcely the necessaries of life—no physician—no female attendants—so weak, that I could not move, I hope I am deeply sensible of the kind care of my heavenly Father, in carrying me safely through the peculiar dangers of the voyage, and giving me once more a resting place on land. Still, were it not for the support we derive from the Gospel of Jesus, we should be ready to sink down in despondency, in view of the dark and gloomy scenes around us. But when we recollect that Jesus has commanded his disciples to carry the Gospel to the heathen, and promised to be with them to the end of the world; that God has promised to give the heathen to his Son, for an inheritance, we are encouraged to make a beginning, though in the midst of discouragement, and leave it with him to grant success, in his own time and way. I find here no dear female friends, with whom I can unite in social prayer, nor even one, with whom I can converse. I have, indeed, no society at all, but that of Mr. J.; yet I feel happy in thinking, that I gave up this source of pleasure, as well as most others, for the sake of the poor heathen. Though I am unworthy of being allowed to do any thing for Christ, I am happy that he has made it my duty to live among them, and labour for the promotion of the kingdom of heaven. O if it may please the dear Redeemer to make me instrumental of leading some of the females of Burmah to a saving acquaintance with him, my great object will be accomplished, my highest desires gratified: I shall rejoice to have relinquished my comforts, my country, and my home. But when I consider my vileness, my unfitness to communicate divine truth; when I consider how mixed with sin my best and purest motives ever are, I fear I shall never be used as an instrument in promoting the holy

cause of Christ. I feel my soul sometimes pressed down with a weight of sin, so that I can hardly find utterance at the throne of grace—can only weep over my vileness, and groan for deliverance. At such times, I feel a disposition to pray earnestly, that God will not withhold his blessing on my account, but overlook my guilt, and for Jesus' sake let this infant mission live and prosper. O Lord, here I am; thou hast brought me to this heathen land, and given me desires to labour for thee. Do with me what pleaseth thee. Make me useful or not, as seemeth good in thy sight. But O let my soul live before thee: let me serve none but thee: let me have no object in life, but the promotion of thy glory.

"24. My mind has been serious and solemn this evening, and I have enjoyed a most precious season of communion with God. Felt my own needy, helpless state, but at the same time realized the ability and willingness of Christ to give me all needed grace. O it is sweet to lean on him, and find rest for the soul. I do not know that I ever had more longing desires to be free from sin, to be holy as God is holy, and to serve him with all my powers. Could not but mourn and weep over my remaining sinfulness, unbelief and hardness of heart, and breathe out my longing desires for more sanctifying grace. I do rejoice that God has brought me to this heathen land—deprived me of many things from which I once derived happiness, and taught me that I must now seek happiness in him alone. Our situation is such, that we are compelled to trust in God; and we find in reading his word, and meditating on the promises therein contained, such strength and support as we never before experienced. Lord, let us live to thee, and serve thee faithfully in this heathen land, and we ask no more.

"*Aug.* 15. It is indeed an unfailing source of consolation, that we have a God to whom we may at all times repair, and make known our wants by prayer and supplication. When we feel discouraged, in view of the many and great obstacles in the way of spreading the Gospel, and in view of our own vileness and unfitness to be employed in this blessed work, we are often relieved and animated by the assurance, that all things are possible with God, that it is easy for him to remove every obstacle, and that he is ever ready to hear our cries for divine assistance. I have enjoyed a most happy season at the throne of grace this evening. When I first approached, I was depressed

with a sense of my darkness, stupidity and guilt. But these feelings soon gave way to earnest and longing desires for more holiness, conformity to God, and devotedness to his cause. I know not that I ever had so strong desires to live to God, and continually enjoy his presence, as I have had this evening. Yet I felt a melting, broken heart, on account of my sins, and some joyful feelings in view of death, which would deliver me from all my spiritual enemies, and introduce me into the presence of Him whom alone I desire to serve, in my present sinful, imperfect state. I have begun to study the language. Find it very hard and difficult, having none of the usual helps in acquiring a language, except a small part of a grammar, and six chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, by Mr. Carey, now at Ava.*

"21. Have been reviewing the past week, and find great cause for mourning and lamentation, for thanksgiving and praise. God is good. God is love. All his works are indicative of his wisdom and power; and a discovery of his glorious perfections must produce implicit confidence and trust, in all holy beings. It is my comfort and happiness, that just such a being is at the head of the universe, and has the entire control and direction of the kingdoms of the earth, and of every individual, from the highest to the lowest. How transporting is the thought, that this great and infinitely glorious Being is accessible to finite, mortal, sinful creatures; that he is not only willing to receive them, but commands them to come and partake of that happiness, which he himself enjoys. What blessings, what infinite, eternal blessings, have been procured for sinners, through the sufferings of Jesus. Who can describe the height, and depth, the breadth and length of the love of Christ? Yes, blessed Saviour, the perfectness of thy Father, the glories of the Godhead, are revealed to sinners, through thy agonies and death. They are not only revealed, but enjoyed. The discovery transforms us into thine own image, and makes the heart a fit residence for thy Holy Spiri . When, blessed Lord, wilt thou visit Burmah, and take up thine abode in the hearts of these idolaters? When wilt

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* Mr. Carey subsequently finished and published the Gospel of Matthew, and made some progress in translating the other Gospels; but how far, cannot now be ascertained, as his manuscripts were, it is supposed, all lost on his journey to Ava, in 1814.—*Note by Mr. Judson.*

thou be pleased to gratify those desires and longings, which thou hast thyself excited in our hearts? When shall cruel, idolatrous, avaricious Burmah know, that thou art the God of the whole earth, and alone deservest the homage and adoration of all creatures? Hasten it, Lord, in thine own time.

"Had a comfortable and happy season in prayer this evening. Felt a disposition to pray, that God would enable us to continue in this country, bear with submission and fortitude the trials and afflictions before us, and spread the light of truth through the empire. The promises of the Gospel encouraged me to plead earnestly for the conversion of this people; and I felt most deeply, that the divine power alone is competent to perform this work. And though we cannot yet make known the Gospel, it is easy for God to prepare their hearts to receive the Saviour, as soon as they shall hear the joyful sound. I could not help weeping over the dreadful situation of these immortal beings, who are daily going into eternity, with all their sins on their guilty heads, and none to warn them of their danger, and point out the way of escape. We long to speak their language. O Jesus, be with us, and assist us in all our studies and all our exertions.

"28. I fear that I have declined in religion the past week. Nothing do I dread so much as becoming cold and worldly minded, and losing the life of religion in the soul. Though I have but few temptations, I find that the innate depravity of my heart is constantly showing itself, in some way or other. I find it is just as necessary to watch and pray, and guard against easily besetting sins, in this heathen land, as in any other situation. O for a more holy heart, more fervent love to God, and more ardent longings for the promotion of his cause.

"Have been writing letters this week to my dear friends in America. Found that a recollection of former enjoyments, in my own native country, made my situation here appear less tolerable. The thought that I had parents, sisters and beloved friends, still in existence, and at such a distance, that it was impossible to obtain a look, or exchange a word, was truly painful. While they are still in possession of the comforts I once enjoyed, I am an exile from my country, and my father's house, deprived of all society, and every friend, but one, and with scarcely the necessaries of life. These privations would not be endured with patience, in any other cause, but that in which we are en-

gaged. But since it is thy cause, blessed Jesus, we rejoice that thou didst give us so many enjoyments to sacrifice, and madest it so plainly our duty to forsake all, in order to bring thy truth to the benighted heathen. We would not resign our work, but live contented with our lot, and live to thee.

"*Sept.* 5. Yes, I do feel thankful, that God has brought me to this heathen land, and placed me in a situation peculiarly calculated to make me feel my dependence on him, and my constant need of the influences of the Holy Spirit. I enjoy more, in reading the Scriptures, and in secret prayer, than for years before; and the prosperity of this mission, and the conversion of this people, lie with weight on my mind, and draw forth my heart in constant intercession. And I do confidently believe, that God will visit this land, with gospel light, that these idol temples will be demolished, and temples for the worship of the living God erected in their stead.

"12. Our heavenly Father has graciously preserved us, through another week, and given us to enjoy the privileges of another day of rest. We always find the Sabbath a great relief and refreshment to our minds; for on this day we lay aside our studies, and every worldly employment, and devote our time exclusively to the duties of religion. I have not enjoyed much through the day; but this evening, in secret prayer, I had some glimpse of divine things, which greatly enlivened and animated my soul. While I felt burdened with sin, particularly that of a hard, insensible heart, the thought, that God remains the same, still carrying on his great plan, according to his own will, for the glory of his name, and the good of his church and kingdom, went through my mind, with such awe-inspiring influence, that I felt no more anxiety for my insignificant self, and could not refrain from pouring out my soul, for the prosperity of Zion, and the display of God's glory among the heathen. Of how little consequence are all things, pertaining to our finite interests, compared with the glory of the infinitely blessed and ever glorious God. And how consoling the thought, that God will overrule all events, all the wrath of sinful men and fallen spirits, to the promotion of his own glory, in the greatest possible happiness of his holy kingdom. O for a heart to love this God more, and serve him better.

"18. I have not been able to attend much to the study of the language for several days, in consequence of ill health, but hope I am making some progress. I feel that this at

present, is my great object; and that when my attention is diverted to any thing else, my time is lost.

"25. I feel composed and tranquil this evening, and desire to be truly thankful, that we have closed another week in circumstances so comfortable, and are brought once more to the confines of holy time. I desire also to be truly thankful for the sweetness I have enjoyed in divine things throughout the week. We have been reading, at our daily worship, the several last chapters of John, and the beginning of Acts; and I think we never enjoyed so much in reading the Scriptures together, and in conversing on the sufferings and death of Christ—his instructions to the disciples as he led them through those amazing scenes, and the first formation of the Christian church. I never entered so much into the feelings of the disciples when receiving his last instructions; when deserting him through fear; when following him to the cross; when consigning him to the tomb. And I could almost participate in their joy, when they saw him risen from the dead; when he appeared in the midst of them, telling them that he had all power in heaven and earth. The disciples had seen one of the darkest times the church had ever realized. They were ready to give up all for lost. But light arose out of the darkness of the tomb. They *felt* that Jesus was indeed the Christ—the Son of God. And no longer afraid of the face of man, they announced themselve the followers of Jesus, and declared to the whole world the wonders of his dying love. How full of instruction and consolation is thy word, O blessed Jesus! How able to make the simple wise. Let the whole world hear the story of thy dying love. Let heathen nations know that thou didst dwell in flesh, and die for sinners, and now art able and mighty to save.

"*Oct.* 8. To-day, I have been into the town, and I was surprised at the multitude of people, with which the streets and bazars are filled. Their countenances are intelligent; and they appear to be capable, under the influence of the Gospel, of becoming a valuable and respectable people. But at present, their situation is truly deplorable, for they are given to every sin. Lying is so common and universal among them, that they say, 'We cannot live without telling lies.' They believe the most absurd notions imaginable. My teacher told me the other day, that when he died he would go to my country. I shook my head, and told him he would not; but he laughed, and said he

would. I did not understand the language sufficiently to tell him where he would go, or how he could be saved. O thou Light of the world, dissipate the thickdarkness which covers Burmah, and let thy light arise and shine. O display thy grace and power among the Burmans—subdue them to thyself, and make them thy chosen people."

From this period her private journal is lost, except a few paragraphs, written several years after. This loss is greatly to be regretted, but is now irreparable. The portions of her journal which have been quoted will, we presume, be regarded as among the most interesting and valuable parts of this work. They certainly are adapted to increase our respect for her memory. Her deep and habitual piety is more fully exemplified in her private journal, than in her publick writings, and in the open actions of her life. What is written for a person's own eye alone, is likely to be sincere and unreserved. There can be no motive to express feelings and desires which do not exist in the heart.

Having immediately commenced the study of the language, Mr. and Mrs. J. hired a teacher, an able and intelligent man. But as he did not understand English, their only method, at first, of acquiring information concerning the language, was to point to various objects, the names of which the teacher pronounced in Burman. Thus they gradually obtained some knowledge of its vocabulary and its structure; but without a grammar or a dictionary, and with so little aid from their teacher, their progress was slow and discouraging. But they prosecuted their studies cheerfully, animated by the prospect of being able, at no distant period, to communicate to these idolatrous Burmans, in their own language, the tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer.

Extracts from the "History of the Burman Mission," will in future be made, as occasion may require, without any special notice.

"*Sept.* 19, 1813. This is the first Sabbath that we have united in commemorating the dying love of Christ at his table. Though but two in number, we feel the command as binding, and the privilege as great, as though there were more; and we have indeed found it refreshing to our souls.

"*Dec.* 11. To-day, for the first time, I have visited the wife of the viceroy. I was introduced to her by a French lady who has frequently visited her. When we first arrived at the government house, she was not up, consequently we had to wait some time. But the inferior wives of the viceroy diverted us much by their curiosity, in minutely examining every thing we had on, and by trying on our gloves and bonnets, &c. At last her highness made her appearance, dressed richly in the Burman fashion, with a long silver pipe in her mouth, smoking. At her appearance, all the other wives took their seats at a respectful distance, and sat in a crouching posture, without speaking. She received me very politely, took me by the hand, seated me upon a mat, and herself by me. She excused herself for not coming in sooner, saying she was unwell. One of the women brought her a bunch of flowers, of which she took several and ornamented my cap. She was very inquisitive whether I had a husband and children, whether I was my husband's first wife—meaning by this, whether I was the highest among them, supposing that Mr. Judson, like the Burmans, had many wives; and whether I intended tarrying long in the country.

"When the viceroy came in, I really trembled; for I never before beheld such a savage looking creature. His long robe, and enormous spear, not a little increased my dread. He spoke to me, however, very condescendingly, and asked if I would drink some rum or wine. When I arose to go, her highness again took my hand, told me she was happy to see me, that I must come to see her every day. She led me to the door; I made my *salam*, and departed. My only object in visiting her was, that if we should get into any difficulty with the Burmans, I could have access to her, when perhaps it would not be possible for Mr. Judson to have an audience with the viceroy."

They were soon convinced of the wretched and unsettled state of the country. Several robberies happened near them; and the governor of a neighbouring province was assassinated in open day. The assassin was put to death in a most cruel manner, having most of his bones broken, and being left to languish in the prison five or six days, in this dreadful situation.

"*April* 16, 1814. Mr. Carey has lately returned from Calcutta, and much refreshed our minds with letters and intelligence from our friends. We are so much debarred from all social intercourse with the rest of the Christian world, that the least intelligence we receive from our friends is a great luxury.

"We feel more and more convinced, that the Gospel must be introduced into this country, through many trials and difficulties, through much self-denial and earnest prayer. The strong prejudices of the Burmans, their foolish conceit of superiority over other nations, the wickedness of their lives, together with the plausibility of their own religious tenets, make a formidable appearance in the way of their receiving the strict requirements of the Gospel of Jesus. But all things are possible with God, and he is our only hope and confidence. He can make mountains become vallies, and dry places streams of water."

In August, Mr. Carey, his wife and children, embarked in a brig for Ava, having his furniture, medicine, wearing apparel, &c. on board. The brig upset in the river, and Mrs. Carey, two children, all the women servants, and some of the men servants who could not swim, were drowned. Mr. Carey endeavoured to save his little boy, three years old, but finding himself sinking, he was obliged to abandon the child.

Mr. J. and his wife were thus left without any Christian friends; but they proceeded diligently in their studies, enjoying the presence of God, and feeling an unceasing persuasion that they were in the path of duty. Mrs. J. wrote thus to a friend:

"As it respects ourselves, we are busily employed all day long. I can assure you that we find much pleasure in our employment. Could you look into a large open room, which we call a verandah, you would see Mr. Judson bent over his table, covered with Burman books, with his teacher at his side, a venerable looking man in his sixtieth year, with a cloth wrapped round his middle, and a handkerchief round his head. They talk and chatter all day long, with hardly any cessation.

"My mornings are busily employed in giving directions to the servants—providing food for the family, &c. At ten my teacher comes, when, were you present, you might see me in an inner room, at one side of my study table, and my teacher the other, reading Burman, writing, talking, &c

I have many more interruptions than Mr. Judson, as I have the entire management of the family. This I took upon myself, for the sake of Mr. Judson's attending more closely to the study of the language; yet I have found by a year's experience, that it was the most direct way I could have taken to acquire the language; as I am frequently obliged to speak Burman all day. I can talk and understand others better than Mr. Judson, though he knows more about the nature and construction of the language.

"A new viceroy has lately arrived, who is much beloved and respected by the people. He visited us soon after his arrival, and told us that we must come to the government house very often. We have been once or twice since, and were treated with much more familiarity and respect than are natives of the country.

"We often converse with our teachers and servants on the subject of our coming to this country, and tell them if they die in their present state they will surely be lost. But they say, 'Our religion is good for us, yours for you.' But we are far from being discouraged. We are sensible that the hearts of the heathen, as well as those of Christians, are in the hands of God, and in his own time he will turn them unto him."

In a letter to Mr. Newell, written about this time, Mrs. Judson says:

"As it respects our temporal privations, use has made them familiar and easy to be borne; they are of short duration, and when brought in competition with the worth of immortal souls, sink into nothing. We have no society, no dear Christian friends, and with the exception of two or three sea captains, who now and then call on us, we never see a European face. When we feel a disposition to sigh for the enjoyments of our native country, we turn our eyes on the miserable objects around. We behold some of them labouring hard for a scanty subsistence, oppressed by an avaricious government, which is ever ready to seize what industry has hardly earned. We behold others sick and diseased, daily begging the few grains of rice, which, when obtained, are scarcely sufficient to protract their wretched existence, and with no other habitation to cover them from the burning sun or chilly rains, than that which a small piece of cloth raised on four bamboos, under the shade of a tree, can afford. While we behold these scenes, we feel that we have all the comforts, and in comparison

even the luxuries of life. We feel that our temporal cup of blessings is full and runneth over. But is our temporal lot so much superior to theirs? O how infinitely superior are our spiritual blessings! While they vainly imagine to purchase promotion in another state of existence, by strictly worshipping their idols, and building pagodas, our hopes of future happiness are fixed on the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. When we have a realizing sense of these things, my dear brother, we forget our native country and former enjoyments, feel contented and happy with our lot, with but one wish remaining—that of being instrumental of leading these Burmans to partake of the same source of happiness with ourselves.

"Our progress in the language is slow, as it is peculiarly hard of acquisition. We can, however, read, write, and converse with tolerable ease; and frequently spend whole evenings very pleasantly in conversing with our Burman friends. We have been very fortunate in procuring good instructers. Mr. Judson's teacher is a very learned man, was formerly a priest, and resided at court. He has a thorough knowledge of the grammatical construction of the language; likewise of the Pali, the learned language of the Burmans."

After the first six months of their residence in Rangoon, Mrs. J.'s health had been on the decline, and as there was no medical aid in the country, she felt the necessity of going to some foreign port for its restoration. Such was the state of the mission, that she could not consent that Mr. J. should accompany her. She therefore embarked in January, 1814, for Madras, at which place she entirely recovered, and returned in the April following. During her absence, Mr. Judson had no Christian with whom he could converse, or unite in prayer. He however pursued his great object, the acquiring of the language; and, during this interval, was much encouraged by accounts from America, of the rapid increase of a missionary spirit.

He thus expresses his feelings on receiving a copy of the proceedings of the Baptist General Convention in the United States, and letters from the Secretary of their Board of Foreign Missions:

"These accounts from my dear native land were so interesting, as to banish from my mind all thoughts of study. This general movement among the Baptist churches in

America is particularly encouraging, as it affords an additional indication of God's merciful designs in favour of the poor heathen. It unites with all the Bible Societies in Europe and America, during the last twenty years, in furnishing abundant reason to hope, that the dreadful darkness which has so long enveloped the earth, is about to flee away before the rising sun. Do not the successes which have crowned some missionary exertions seem like the dawn of morning on the east? O! that this region of Egyptian darkness may ere long participate in the vivifying beams of light.

"None but one who has had the experience, can tell what feelings comfort the heart of a solitary Missionary, when, though all the scenes around him present no friend, he remembers, and has proof, that there are spots on this wide earth, where Christian brethren feel that his cause is their own, and pray to the same God and Saviour for his welfare and success. Thanks be to God, not only for 'rivers of endless joys above,' but for 'rills of comfort here below.'"

The following account of Mr. Judson's attempt to communicate religious instruction to his teacher, will be read with interest. It shows the views of the educated Burmans on the subject of religion, and the style of argument in which they defend their opinions:

"*Sept.* 30, 1815. Had the following conversation with my teacher. This man has been with me about three months, and is the most sensible, learned, and candid man that I have ever found among the Burmans. He is forty-seven years of age, and his name is Oo Oungmeng. I began by saying, Mr. J. is dead. Oo.—I have heard so. J.—His soul is lost, I think. Oo.—Why so? J.—He was not a disciple of Christ. Oo.—How do you know that? You could not see his soul. J.—How do you know whether the root of the mango tree is good? You cannot see it; but you can judge by the fruit on its branches. Thus I know that Mr. J. was not a disciple of Christ, because his words and actions were not such as indicate the disciple. Oo.—And so all who are not disciples of Christ are lost? J.—Yes, all, whether Burmans or foreigners. Oo.—This is hard. J.—Yes, it is hard, indeed; otherwise I should not have come all this way, and left parents and all, to tell you of Christ. (He seemed to feel the force of this, and after stopping a little, he said,) How is it that the disciples of

Christ are so fortunate above all men? J.—Are not all men sinners, and deserving of punishment in a future state? Oo.—Yes, all must suffer in some future state for the sins they commit. The punishment follows the crime, as surely as the wheel of a cart follows the footsteps of the ox. J.—Now, according to the Burman system, there is no escape. According to the Christian system there is. Jesus Christ has died in the place of sinners; has borne their sins—and now those who believe on him, and become his disciples, are released from the punishment they deserve. At death they are received into heaven, and are happy for ever. Oo.—That I will never believe. My mind is very stiff on this one point, namely, that all existence involves in itself principles of misery and destruction. J.—Teacher, there are two evil futurities, and one good. A miserable future existence is evil, and annihilation or nigban is an evil, a fearful evil. A happy future existence is alone good. Oo.—I admit that it is best, if it could be perpetual; but it cannot be. Whatever is, is liable to change, and misery, and destruction. Nigban is the only permanent good, and that good has been attained by Gaudama, the last deity. J.—If there be no eternal being, you cannot account for any thing. Whence this world, and all that we see? Oo.—Fate. J.—Fate! the cause must always be equal to the effect. See, I raise this table; see, also, that ant under it: suppose I were invisible; would a wise man say the ant raised it? Now fate is not even an ant. Fate is a word, that is all. It is not an agent, not a thing. What is fate? Oo.—The fate of creatures is the influence which their good or bad deeds have on their future existence. J.—If influence be exerted, there must be an exerter. If there be a determination, there must be a determiner. Oo.—No; there is no determiner. There cannot be an eternal Being. J.—Consider this point. It is a main point of true wisdom. Whenever there is an execution of a purpose, there must be an agent. Oo.—(After a little thought) I must say that my mind is very decided and hard, and unless you tell me something more to the purpose, I shall never believe. J.—Well, teacher, I wish you to believe, not for my profit, but for yours. I daily pray the true God to give you light, that you may believe. Whether you will ever believe in this world I don't know, but when you die I know you will believe what I now say. You will then appear before the God you now deny. Oo—I don't know that."

CHAPTER VIII.

Letters of Mrs. Judson—Birth and Death of a Son—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hough.

The following letters, written by Mrs. Judson to her family, contain a statement of several interesting incidents :

"*Rangoon, Sept.* 26, 1815.

"My dear Parents, Sisters, and Brother,

"Many months have passed since I attempted to write you, owing entirely to the great improbability of letters reaching you during the continuance of the war. But as we have lately heard that this unhappy contest has ended, and that peace is again restored, I am once more induced to take up my pen, though I shall be able to write but a few lines. Goodness and mercy still follow us, still the protecting hand of our heavenly Father is held out for our assistance; and though we have seen days and nights of affliction, we experience the fulfilment of this promise, *Lo, I am with you.* In my last, I gave you a general account of events from our arrival here to that date. In a month or two from that date, I embarked for Madras, to procure medical assistance, and hoping a change of air would conduce to the restoration of my health. I was obliged to leave Mr. Judson here alone, without a single associate to animate him in his arduous work. We did not think it his duty for him to leave the mission, if I could possibly go alone. But though I was separated from him, and felt for the first time in my life that I was entirely alone in this wide world, yet I could not but trace the kind dealings of God in inclining every one with whom I had any concern, to favour and assist me in my way. The viceroy gave me an order to take a woman servant with me, free from expense, a thing which is generally attended with great difficulty, owing to the Burman law which forbids any female to leave the country. We went to him ourselves with a small present, which is customary when a favour is asked. On his seeing it, he inquired if we had any business; and on Mr. Judson's presenting the petition, he immediately commanded his writer to give us an official order, without causing us any expense whatever. The Captain with whom I went, refused any pay for my passage, though he provided every necessary for one in ill health. I staid at Madras six weeks, and resided at Mr. Loveless' house, where

I received every attention. When about to leave Madras, I sent the physician under whose care I had been, seventy rupees, which he immediately returned, saying, he was happy if he had been serviceable to me. After an absence of three months, I safely arrived at Rangoon, where I found Mr. Judson well, and labouring hard, though entirely alone. My health continued to mend, and on the 11th of September, I was made the happy mother of a little son. I had no physician or assistant whatever excepting Mr. Judson. Since the birth of our little son my health has been much better than for two years before. I feel now almost in a new state of existence. Our hands are full, and though our prospects in regard to the immediate conversion of the Burmans are dark, yet our trust in God is strong, and our hopes animating.

"Mr. Judson has made considerable progress in the Pali language, which is the learned language of the Burmans, and without a knowledge of which, a man is not considered learned. I have again commenced studying the Burman, though I am not yet able to sit long at a time.

"You doubtless are expecting to hear by this time of the Burmans inquiring what they shall do to be saved, and rejoicing that we have come to tell them how they may escape eternal misery. Alas, you know not the difficulty of communicating the least truth to the dark mind of a heathen, particularly those heathen who have a conceited notion of their own wisdom and knowledge, and the superior excellence of their own religious system. Sometimes when I have been conversing with some of the women, they have replied, "Your religion is good for you, ours for us. You will be rewarded for your good deeds, in your way—we in our way." At other times, when Mr. J. had been telling them of the atonement by Christ, they would reply that their minds were stiff, that they did not yet believe, &c. But these things do not discourage us. We confidently believe that God in his own time will make his truth effectual unto salvation. We are endeavouring to convince the Burmans by our conduct, that our religion is different from theirs, and I believe we have succeeded in gaining the confidence and respect of those, with whom we have any concern, so that they tell others who know us not, that they need not be afraid to trust us, for we do not know how to tell falsehoods as the Burmans do. We are very particular to pay at the appointed time, for whatever we

purchase. The Burmans are surprised to see us always employed, particularly me, as the Burman women never think of doing any work if they can get their rice without.

"Our present teacher is a learned man for a Burman; he was once a priest, and lived at the golden feet, as they call the city of Ava. He makes every exertion possible to please us, lest he like his predecessors should lose his place. He is the fourth we have had, and we give him only fifteen tickals a month, which is about seven dollars.

"I know, my dear mother, you long very much to see my little boy. I wish you were here to see him. He is a little sprightly boy, and already begins to be very playful. We hope his life may be preserved and his heart sanctified, that he may become a Missionary among the Burmans."

"*Rangoon, Dec.* 8, 1815.

"My dear Sisters,

"In regard to the language, which sister A. wishes 'to hear how it sounds,' we feel quite at home, and can converse with ease on common subjects. We find the subject of religion by far the most difficult, on account of the want of religious terms in their language. They have not the least idea of a God who is eternal—without beginning or end. All their deities have been through the several grades of creatures, from a fowl to a deity. When their deities take heaven, as they express it, they cease to exist, which, according to their ideas, is the highest state of perfection. It is now two thousand years since Gaudama, their last deity, entered on his state of perfection; and though he now ceases to exist, they still worship a hair of his head, which is enshrined in an enormous pageda, to which the Burmans go every eighth day. They know of no other atonement for sin, than offerings to their priests and their pagodas. You cannot imagine how very difficult it is to give them any idea of the true God and the way of salvation by Christ, since their present ideas of deity are so very low.

"Mr. Judson has obtained a tolerable knowledge of the construction of the language, and only needs time and practice to make it perfectly familiar. I can read and write, but am far behind Mr. J. in this part, though in conversation I am his equal. Doubtless you expect by this time, that some of the Burmans have embraced the Christian religion, or at least, are seriously inquiring respecting

it. Our hopes have frequently been raised by the serious and candid attention of some, but have as frequently sunk again by beholding their almost total indifference. At one time our hopes were quite raised by the serious attention of the son of a governor, who came to us about a year, to learn English. He at times appeared solemn and inquisitive; but about six months ago his father lost his office; he of course lost his sense of dignity, mixed with his servants, and lost, we fear, most of his seriousness. He came here his last Sabbath to bid us farewell, as his father was called up to Ava. I asked him if he had forgotten the instructions he had formerly received. He said he had not, and repeated to us what we had told him concerning the character of God and of Christ. We gave him a copy of Matthew's Gospel, which has been printed, and which he gladly received, saying, not a day should pass without his reading it. Mr. J. told him, every time he read, he must ask God to give him light and enable him to understand it. Another, an old man above sixty, frequently visited us, and said he wished to be instructed in our way, as he called it. He was of Portuguese descent, though a Burman in his habits. Mr. J. talked much to him about his depraved nature, and the necessity of a new heart. The last time he came, he inquired if we should not give money to those who were baptized and joined us, when Mr. J. told him no. He then asked what it was to have a new heart. Mr. J. told him—when he replied, that he had got a new heart—that he believed in Christ and the true God. Mr. J. asked him how long since he felt his heart was new? He said he was a Christian—was baptized in infancy—had always worshipped the true God, and had those feelings Mr. J. described. Mr. J. told him he was still in a very dangerous state, and if he died as he was, he would surely go to hell. He replied, your sayings are very hard, and I cannot immediately understand them. Some other instances, still more encouraging, I could mention, but we must wait to see the event. These things, however, do not discourage us. It is God alone, who can effectually impress the mind with divine truths; and though seed now sown may long lie buried in the dust, yet at some future period it may spring up and bear fruit to the glory of God. When we read what wonders God is doing in the earth, in sending the Gospel into all parts of the world—when we read of Otaheitans and Chinese, embracing the Gospel—shall we think it hard for him to convert the Burmans?

"The town just now is all in confusion. The present viceroy is recalled by the king, and the former viceroy is again to take the government of Rangoon. The present viceroy has been here only a year and three months; he is much beloved by the people, ten thousand of whom will go with him. We have had a very peaceable, comfortable time during his administration; the town was in a flourishing state; robberies very seldom, on account of the effectual means he has taken to suppress them, and we strongly hoped he would be permitted to continue here for some time. The present viceroy and wife are nearly related to the king. They have a daughter fifteen years old, who on her arrival at Ava is to be presented to the prince regent. She is a sensible, smart, satirical girl; with a mind as capable of improvement as any young lady in America. She and her mother have ever treated me with marked attention. I went to take leave of them two or three days ago, and when I entered the room where they receive company, finding they were not present, I took my seat with the women who had assembled to pay their respects, and which is two or three steps lower than where the viceroy's family sit. When the wife and daughter came in, they immediately told me to take my place with them, for it was not fitting that the wife of a priest should sit there. When I came away, her ladyship presented me with a string of coral, which is the second she has given me since her residence here.

"O how I long to visit Bradford! and spend a few evenings by your firesides, in telling you what I have seen and heard. Alas! we have no fireside, no social circle; we are still alone in this miserable country, surrounded by thousands who are ignorant of the true God and only way of salvation by Jesus Christ. O pray for us, that we may be faithful unto death, and never give up or be discouraged, though we may not have immediate success. We still feel happy in our employment, and have reason to thank God that he has brought us here. We do hope to live to see the Scriptures translated into the Burman language, and to see a church formed from among these idolaters. Did you know how much Mr. J. has to do, you would not wonder he does not write to you more. He sits at close study twelve hours out of the twenty-four."

Some of the difficulties of the Burman language are thus described by Mr. Judson, in a letter to Dr. Bolles, of Salem, dated Rangoon, January 16, 1816:

"I just now begin to see my way forward in this language, and hope that two or three years more will make it somewhat familiar; but I have met with difficulties that I had no idea of before I entered on the work. For a European or American to acquire a living oriental language, root and branch, and make it his own, is quite a different thing from his acquiring a cognate language of the west, or any of the dead languages, as they are studied in the schools. One circumstance may serve to illustrate this. I once had occasion to devote a few months to the study of the French. I have now been above two years engaged in the Burman. If I were to choose between a Burman and a French book, to be examined in, without previous study, I should, without the least hesitation, choose the French. When we take up a western language, the similarity in the characters, in very many terms, in many modes of expression, and in the general structure of the sentences, its being in fair print, (a circumstance we hardly think of,) and the assistance of grammars, dictionaries, and instructers, render the work comparatively easy. But when we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth; when we find the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we had ever met with, and these words not fairly divided, and distinguished, as in western writing, by breaks, and points, and capitals, but run together in one continuous line, a sentence or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word; when, instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm leaves strung together, and called a book; when we have no dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language, before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher,—

"Hoc opus, hic labor est."

I had hoped, before I came here, that it would not be my lot to have to go alone, without any guide, in an unexplored path, especially as Missionaries had been here before. But Mr. Chater had left the country, and Mr. Carey was with me very little, before he left the mission and the missionary work altogether.

"I long to write something more interesting and encouraging to the friends of the mission; but it must not yet be expected. It unavoidably takes several years to acquire such a language, in order to converse and write intelligibly on the great truths of the Gospel. Dr. Carey once told me, that after he had been some years in Bengal, and thought he was doing very well, in conversing and preaching with the natives, they (as he was afterwards convinced) knew not what he was about. A young Missionary, who expects to pick up the language in a year or two, will probably find that he has not counted the cost. If he should be so fortunate as to obtain a good interpreter, he may be useful by that means. But he will learn, especially if he is in a new place, where the way is not prepared, and no previous ideas communicated, that to qualify himself to communicate divine truth intelligibly, by his voice or pen, is not the work of a year. However, notwithstanding my present great incompetency, I am beginning to translate the New Testament, being extremely anxious to get some parts of Scripture, at least, into an intelligible shape, if for no other purpose than to read, as occasion offers, to the Burmans with whom I meet."

At this juncture, their heavenly Father was pleased to visit them with the most distressing trial, which can wring a parent's heart. Their darling boy, who was their solace in their lonely condition, was removed from them by death. The event is described in a letter of Mrs. J. with all the pathos of a mother's sorrow:

"*Rangoon, May* 7, 1816.

"My dear Parents,

"Little did I think when I wrote you last, that my next letter would be filled with the melancholy subject on which I must now write. Death, regardless of our lonely situation, has entered our dwelling, and made one of the happiest families wretched. Our little Roger Williams, our only little darling boy, was three days ago laid in the silent grave. Eight months we enjoyed the precious little gift, in which time he had so completely entwined himself around his parents' hearts, that his existence seemed necessary to their own. But God has taught us by afflictions, what we would not learn by mercies—that our hearts are his exclusive property, and whatever rival intrudes, he will tear it away.

"As I feel incapable of writing on any other subject, I will give you the particulars of his little probation, and the last painful scene which has rent our hearts.

"He was a remarkably pleasant child,—never cried except when in pain, and, what we often observed to each other was the most singular, he never, during his little existence, manifested the least anger or resentment at any thing. This was not owing to the want of intellect, for his tender feelings of sensibility were very conspicuous. Whenever I or his father passed his cradle without taking him, he would follow us with his eyes to the door, when they would fill with tears, and his countenance so expressive of grief, though perfectly silent, that it would force us back to him, which would cause his little heart to be as joyful as it had been before sorrowful. He would lie hours on a mat by his papa's study table, or by the side of his chair on the floor, if he could only see his face. When we had finished study or the business of the day, it was our exercise and amusement to carry him round the house or garden, and though we were alone, we felt not our solitude when he was with us. For two months before he died, I observed with much anxiety, that he had violent fits of perspiration every night, and a slight degree of fever. But as he appeared well through the day, and had a good appetite for his food, and continued to grow fleshy, I strongly hoped it would wear off, and terminate in the cutting of his teeth. But alas! all our hopes were blasted. Tuesday morning when I took him from his cradle, he appeared as well as usual; but not long after, he was taken with a violent coughing, which continued without cessation for half an hour. This brought on a fever, which continued strong through the day and night; but Wednesday morning it abated, and he slept quietly through the day, and took his food with as good an appetite as usual. Thursday his cough returned, and with it the fever, which again much alarmed us, and we sent for a Portuguese priest, (the only person who knows any thing about medicine in the place) who gave him a little rhubarb and gascoign powder. But nothing appeared to affect the distress in his throat, which was the cause of his coughing, and made him breathe so hard that every breath could be heard some way. Friday night I sat by him till two o'clock, when being much fatigued, I retired, and Mr. Judson took him. The little creature drank his milk with much eagerness, (he was weaned) and Mr. Judson thought he was refreshed and

would go to sleep. He laid him in his cradle,—he slept with ease for half an hour, when his breath stopped without a struggle, and he was gone! Thus died our little Roger.

> 'Short pain, short grief, dear babe, was thine,—
> 'Now, joys eternal and divine.'

We buried him in the afternoon of the same day, in a little enclosure the other side of the garden. Forty or fifty Burmans and Portuguese followed, with his afflicted parents, the last remains to the silent grave. All the Burmans who were acquainted with us endeavoured to sympathize with us, and console us under our loss. Our little Roger was the only legitimate child of foreign parents in the place, consequently he was quite a curiosity to the Burmans. But what shall I say about the improvement we are to make of this heavy affliction? We do not feel a disposition to murmur, or to inquire of our Sovereign why he has done this. We wish, rather, to sit down submissively under the rod and bear the smart, till the end for which the affliction was sent, shall be accomplished. Our hearts were bound up in this child; we felt he was our earthly all, our only source of innocent recreation in this heathen land. But God saw it was necessary to remind us of our error, and to strip us of our only little all. O may it not be in vain that he has done it. May we so improve it, that he will stay his hand and say, 'It is enough.'

"*May* 18. It is just a fortnight to-day, since our little boy died. We feel the anguish a little abated, and have returned to our study and employment; but when for a moment we realize what we once possessed, and our now bereaved state, the wound opens and bleeds afresh. Yet we would still say, 'Thy will be done.'

"Two or three days ago the wife of the viceroy made us a visit in all her state. She had heard of the death of the little white child, as she called him, and came to pay a visit of condolence. I once carried him to her house, when she took the velvet cushion on which she usually sits, and placed the little boy upon it, and exclaimed, What a child, how white, &c. After caressing him for some time, I got up to go, but she requested me to stay till the viceroy came in. He soon entered the room, when she again exclaimed, 'Look, my lord, see what a child! look at his feet, look at his hands,' both of which were remarkably fleshy. The old viceroy, a huge looking man, who has at

least twenty or thirty children, smiled on the little babe, made some inquiries respecting him, and took his leave. Ever since that time, when we met, she would anxiously inquire about him. When she saw me after his death, she smote her breast, and said, 'Why did you not send me word, that I might have come to his funeral.' I told her I did not think of any thing, my distress was so great. She then tried to comfort us, and told us not to weep. She was accompanied by all her officers of state and attendants, all of which were about two hundred people. I gave her tea, sweetmeats and cakes, with which she appeared much pleased. O that she might become a real disciple of Jesus!

"I sometimes have good opportunities of communicating religious truths to the women in the government-house, and hope I shall have an opportunity of conversing with the wife of the viceroy herself.

"All is Egyptian darkness around us—not a glimpse of light. Mr. Judson had just completed a tract in the Burman language, a summary of the Christian religion, when his eyes became so weak, and his head so much affected that he was obliged to lay aside all study, and could not even look into an English book. It is now six weeks since this took place, and he is now only able to study about half the day. This we feel to be a severe affliction. My health is indifferent. We are anxiously looking for the arrival of the other Missionaries, who we hope will strengthen this mission."

Mr. Judson's health had now become so impaired, by too close attention to study, that he was forced to desist from reading, and from all other mental exertion, for several months. He was apprehensive, that it would be necessary to take a voyage to Bengal, for the restoration of his health, though he felt a great reluctance to suspend, for a moment, his efforts to prepare himself for usefulness among the idolatrous millions, who were perishing around him. Exercise on horseback, and a more nutritive diet, restored his health, in some degree; but he was on the point of sailing for Calcutta, when he received the joyful intelligence, that Mr. and Mrs. Hough had arrived in Bengal, and would soon join them in Rangoon. The vessel, in which Mr. and Mrs. J. were about to take passage, being detained longer than was expected, they determined to relinquish the design, and to remain in Rangoon. Mr. Judson's

health gradually became better, and he was enabled to resume his literary labours. During the period of his illness, while incapable of reading, from the weakness of his eyes, he employed himself in preparing a Grammar of the language, for the benefit of future Missionaries.

Mr. Hough arrived in Calcutta, in April, 1816. Dr. Carey had recently received letters from Mr. Judson, informing him, that he wished several small tracts printed, at Serampore. The Dr. and his associates immediately advised, that a printing office be established at Rangoon; and, with their characteristick liberality, made a present to the mission of a printing press, types and other printing apparatus, with which Mr. Hough and wife arrived at Rangoon, in October, 1816.

It was a joyful event to Mr. and Mrs. Judson to be thus reinforced, by two other Missionaries. They had been labouring in silence and sorrow, for three years, without the encouraging thought, that they were, the mean while, conferring any direct benefit on the natives. They were, however, preparing themselves for usefulness. They had so far become familiar with the language, that they could converse, with considerable facility, and Mr. Judson had prepared two tracts, which were printed by Mr. Hough, soon after his arrival. Mr. Judson says, in a letter written at this period:

"The British Baptists have made a noble beginning in Western India. It remains for American Baptists to make an attempt on the eastern side. As for myself, I fear I shall prove only a pioneer, and do a little in preparing the way for others. But such as I am, I feel devoted to the work, and, with the grace of God, and the help of the Society, am resolved to persevere to the end of my life."

A letter of the same date, to Mr. Rice, will show what considerations prevented discouragement under such circumstances:

"If any ask what success I meet with among the natives—tell them to look at Otaheite, where the Missionaries laboured nearly twenty years, and not meeting with the slightest success, began to be neglected by all the Christian world, and the very name of Otaheite was considered a shame to the cause of missions; but now the blessing begins to descend. Tell them to look at Bengal also,

where Dr. Thomas had been labouring seventeen years, that is, from 1783 to 1800, before the first convert, Krishno, was baptized. When a few converts are once made, things move on. But it requires a much longer time than I have been here, to make a first impression on a heathen people. If they ask again, what prospect of *ultimate* success is there—tell them, as much as that there is an Almighty and faithful God, who will perform his promises, and no more. If this does not satisfy them, beg them to let me stay and make the attempt, and let you come, and give us our bread; or, if they are unwilling to risk their bread on such a forlorn hope as has nothing but the word of God to sustain it, beg of them at least not to prevent others from giving us bread. And if we live some twenty or thirty years, they may hear from us again.

"I have already written many things home about Rangoon. The climate is good, better than any other part of the east. But it is a most wretched place. Missionaries must not calculate on the least comfort, but what they find in one another, and in their work. However, if a ship was lying in the river, ready to convey me to any part of the world I should choose, and that too with the entire approbation of all my Christian friends, I should not, for a moment, hesitate on remaining. This is an immense field; and, since the Serampore Missionaries have left it, it seems wholly thrown on the hands of the Americans. If we desert it, the blood of the Burmans will be required of us.

"In encouraging young men to come out as Missionaries, do use the greatest caution. One wrong-headed, conscientiously obstinate man would ruin us. Humble, quiet, persevering men; men of sound, sterling talents, of decent accomplishments, and some natural aptitude to acquire a language; men of an amiable, yielding temper, willing to take the lowest place, to be the least of all, and the servant of all; men who enjoy much closet religion—who live near to God, and are willing to suffer all things for Christ's sake, without being proud of it;—these are the men we need."

A letter written by Mr. Hough, February 20th, 1817, contains some interesting particulars, relative to the mission; and also describes the Burman mode of burying their priests.

"I can say truly, I had no idea of the state of heathenism, before I saw it. A warm hearted Christian in America would think, that a poor miserable idolater would leap for joy at the message of grace. But it is not so in Burmah:

'Here Satan binds their captive minds
Fast in his slavish chains.'

"The few with whom brother Judson has conversed, since I have been here, appear inaccessible to truth. They sit unaffected, and go away unimpressed with what they have heard. They are unconvinced by arguments, and unmoved by love; and the conversion of a Burman, or even the excitement of a thought towards the truth, must and will be a sovereign act of divine power. We long to see that act of power displayed: even one instance would fill us with joy.

"Brother Judson has never yet been abroad to preach. He has applied himself constantly to the study of the language, with a view to the translation of the New Testament. We both concur in the opinion, that before preaching be undertaken, to any considerable degree, some portion of the Scriptures should be in circulation.

"The Burmans, when any thing is said to them on the subject of divine truth, inquire for our holy books; and it is a pleasing fact, that scarcely a Burman, with the exception of females, is incapable of reading. Besides, during the progress of translation, many theological terms, appropriate to the different branches of doctrine, may be familiarly acquired, and their use established; which, without much consideration, might be erroneously employed, and thus wrong ideas conveyed. Having, therefore, press and types here, we cannot conscientiously withhold from this people, the precious oracles of God. This opinion has influenced us to issue, as soon as preparations could possibly be made, two small tracts; one a summary of Christian doctrine, and the other a catechism. The one I was enabled to print the latter part of the last, and the other the first of the present month. These two little tracts are the first printing ever done in Burmah; and it is a fact, grateful to every Christian feeling, that God has reserved the introduction of this art here, for his own use.

"When a priest dies, he has peculiar honours paid him. Several months since, a neighbouring priest died, or *returned*—for the Burmans think it undignified to say that *a priest dies*—his body was immediately wrapped up in tar and

wax; holes were perforated through the feet, and some distance up the legs, into which one end of a hollow bamboo was inserted, and the other fixed in the ground; the body was then pressed and squeezed, so that its fluids were forced down through the legs, and conveyed off by means of the bamboos; in this state of preservation the body has been kept. For some days past, preparations have been making to burn this *sacred relick*, and to-day it passed off in fumigation!

"It may be said of the Burman, as of every other pagan religion, there is no power in it to make men better, and its best precepts are no criterion, by which to judge of the moral character of its devotees. The Burmans are subtle, thievish, mercenary, addicted to robbery and fraud; truth and honesty are not known among them as virtues. They are excessively prone to gambling and sporting.

"The government of the country is in the will of the sovereign, who considers his subjects as slaves; in short, every person coming into the country reports himself 'the king's most willing slave.' The viceroy of Rangoon acts with a power limited only by the king. He punishes criminals with severity. The mildest manner of suffering death is to have the head taken off, which is done with a large knife, and at one stroke. Reprieves from extreme desert, however, are often purchased with money; but when a malefactor is destitute of friends and money, he dies without mercy."

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Judson's Visit to Chittagong—Persecution of Mr. Hough, and his Departure for Bengal—Return of Mr. Judson—Arrival of Messrs. Colman and Wheelock.

The prospects of the Mission now became brighter. The language had been acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Judson, a grammar had been prepared, two tracts were printed, the one containing a view of the Christian religion, of which one thousand copies were printed, and the other a catechism, of which three thousand copies were printed. An edition of eight hundred copies of the Gospel by Matthew, translated by Mr. Judson, was commenced.

But God was about to gladden their hearts, by showing them some of the fruits of that seed, which they had scattered with tears. In March, 1817, Mr. Judson wrote thus to the Corresponding Secretary:

"I have this day been visited by the *first* inquirer after religion, that I have seen in Burmah. For, although in the course of the two last years, I have preached the Gospel to many, and though some have visited me several times, and conversed on the subject of religion; yet I have never had much reason to believe that their visits originated in a spirit of sincere inquiry. Conversations on religion have always been of my proposing; and though I have sometimes been encouraged to hope that truth had made some impression, never, until to-day, have I met with one who was fairly entitled to the epithet of *Inquirer*.

"As I was sitting with my teacher, as usual, a Burman of respectable appearance, and followed by a servant, came up the steps, and sat down by me. I asked him the usual question, where he came from: to which he gave me no explicit reply; and I began to suspect that he had come from the government house, to enforce a trifling request, which, in the morning, we had declined. He soon, however, undeceived and astonished me, by asking, 'How long a time will it take me to learn the religion of Jesus?' I replied, that such a question could not be answered. If God gave light and wisdom, the religion of Jesus was soon learnt; but without God, a man might study all his life long, and make no proficiency. But how, continued I, came you to know any thing of Jesus? Have you been here before? 'No.' Have you seen any writings concerning Jesus? 'I have seen two little books.' Who is Jesus? 'He is the Son of God, who, pitying creatures, came into this world, and suffered death in their stead.' Who is God? 'He is a Being without beginning or end, who is not subject to old age or death, but always is.' I cannot tell how I felt at this moment. This was the first acknowledgment of an eternal God, that I had ever heard from the lips of a Burman. I handed him a tract and catechism, both of which he instantly recognized, and read here and there, making occasional remarks to his follower, such as, 'This is the true God—this is the right way,' &c. I now tried to tell him some things about God and Christ, and himself; but he did not listen with much attention, and seemed anxious only to get another book. I had

already told him two or three times that I had finished no other book; but, that in two or three months, I would give him a larger one, which I was now daily employed in translating. 'But,' replied he, 'have you not a little of that book done, which you will graciously give me now?' And I, beginning to think that God's time was better than man's, folded and gave him the two first half sheets, which contain the first five chapters of Matthew; on which he instantly rose, as if his business was all done; and having received an invitation to come again, took leave. Throughout his short stay, he appeared different from any Burman I have met with. He asked no questions about customs and manners, with which the Burmans tease us exceedingly. He had no curiosity, and no desire for any thing, but 'more of this sort of writing.' In fine, his conduct proved that he had something on his mind, and I cannot but hope that I shall have to write about him again.

"*March* 24. We have not yet seen our inquirer; but to-day we met with one of his acquaintances, who says, that he reads our books all the day, and shows them to all who call upon him. We told him to ask his friend to come and see us again.

"26. An opportunity occurs of sending to Bengal. I am sorry that I cannot send home more interesting letters. But I am not yet in the way of collecting interesting matter. I have found, that I could not preach publickly to any advantage, without being able, at the same time, to put something into the hands of the hearers. And, in order to qualify myself to do this, I have found it absolutely necessary to keep at home, and confine myself to close study, for three or four years. I hope, however, after Matthew is finished, to make a more publick entrance on my work, than has yet been done. But many difficulties lie in the way. Our present house is situated in the woods, away from any neighbours, and at a distance from any road. In this situation, we have no visitors, and no passing travellers, whom we could invite to stop and hear of Christ. My attempts to go out and find auditors have always occasioned such a waste of time, and interruption of study, as would not often be indulged in or justified. We are very desirous of building a small house near the town, on some publick road."

Mrs. Judson wrote thus to a friend in August, 1817:

"Since Mr. Hough's arrival, he has printed a tract of considerable length, being a view of the Christian religion,

which Mr. Judson had previously composed; and also a small catechism for children, and Matthew's Gospel. These are in circulation, and are well understood by those who read them. Many have called at the mission house, to inquire more particularly into the *new religion.* But we have frequently observed in these inquirers, a fear lest others should discover their inclination to inquire. Sometimes, when two or three intimate friends have been seriously engaged in conversing on religious subjects, if others, with whom they were not acquainted, called at the same time, they would be silent, and take their leave. This makes us feel the importance of trying to obtain the patronage of government. In a few months, Mr. Judson will complete a dictionary of the Burman language; after which he will, perhaps, go up to Ava, the residence of the king.

"If we were convinced of the importance of missions, *before* we left our native country, we *now* also *see* and *feel* their practicability. We could then picture to ourselves the miserable situation of heathen nations; but we now see a whole populous empire, rational and immortal like ourselves, sunk in the grossest idolatry; given up to follow the wicked inclinations of their depraved hearts; entirely destitute of any real principle, or the least spark of true benevolence. Let those who plead the native innocence and purity of heathen nations, visit Burmah. Their system of religion has no power over the heart, or restraint on the passions. Besides being destitute of life, it provides no atonement for sin. Here, also, the Gospel triumphs over this, and every other religion in the world. This is the grand difference; this makes the Gospel 'good news' indeed, to the heavy laden and sin-sick soul.

"How interested you would be, could you meet with my little society of females, on the Sabbath. Interested I say —yes, you would be interested, if it was only from this circumstance—that these poor idolaters enjoy the means of grace, and sit under the sound of the Gospel. I have generally fifteen or twenty. They are attentive while I read the Scriptures, and endeavour to teach them about God. One of them told me the other day, that she could not think of giving up a religion which her parents, grand-parents, &c. &c. had embraced, and accepting a new one of which they had never heard. I asked her if she wished to go to hell, because her progenitors had gone there. She replied, if, with all her offerings and good works on her head, (speaking in their idiom) she must go to hell,

then let her go. I told her, if she went to hell after having heard of the Saviour, her very relations would contribute to torment and upbraid her, for her rejection of that Saviour of whom they had never heard, and that even she herself would regret her folly when it was too late. If I do, said she, I will then cry out to you to be my intercessor with your God, who will certainly not refuse you. Another told me that she *did* believe in Christ, and prayed to him every day. I asked her if she also believed in Gaudama, and prayed to him. She replied, she worshipped them both. I have several times had my hopes and expectations raised, by the apparent seriousness of several females, as Mr. Judson has in regard to several men; but their goodness was like the morning cloud and early dew, which soon passeth away. Four or five children have committed the catechism to memory, and often repeat it to each other."

The following letter describes some of the offerings made by the Burmans at their festivals, and also contains a description of the celebrated pagoda at Rangoon:

"This is the season for the great feast of Gaudama. It commenced yesterday, and it is to continue for three days. It is observed all over the country; but I presume the multitude collected in this place is much greater than at any other, excepting Ava. Priests and people come in boats from a great distance, to worship at the pagoda in this place, which is supposed to contain a relick of Gaudama. The viceroy, on these days, goes out in all the pomp and splendour possible, dressed and ornamented with all his insignia of office, attended by the members of government and the common people. After kneeling and worshipping at the pagoda, they generally spend the day in amusements, such as boxing, dancing, singing, theatrical exhibitions, and fire-works. Most of the older people spend the night at the pagoda, and listen to the instructions of the priests.

"Great and expensive offerings are made at this season. One last year, presented by a member of government, cost three thousand tickals, or twelve hundred dollars. It was a kind of portable pagoda, made of bamboo and paper, richly ornamented with gold leaf and paintings. It was a hundred feet in height, and the circumference of its base about fifty. Half way up its height, was a man ludicrous-

ly dressed, with a mask on his face, white wings on his shoulders, and artificial finger nails, two inches in length, in the posture of dancing. This offering was carried by sixty men, preceded by a band of musick, and followed by the officer who made it, and his suite. Other offerings presented at this festival, are various kinds of artificial trees, the branches and twigs of which are filled with cups, bowls, handkerchiefs, and garments of all descriptions; these are given to the slaves attached to the pagoda, who, the week following, have something like a fair, to dispose of their offerings.

"The pagoda to which such multitudes resort, is one of the largest and most splendid in the empire. After having ascended a flight of steps, a large gate opens, when a wild, fairy scene, is abruptly presented to view. It resembles more the descriptions we sometimes have in novels, of enchanted castles, or ancient abbeys in ruins, than any thing we ever meet in real life. The ground is completely covered with a variety of ludicrous objects, which meet the eye in every direction, interspersed with the banyan, cocoa-nut, and toddy trees. Here and there are large open buildings, containing huge images of Gaudama; some in a sitting, some in a sleeping position, surrounded by images of priests and attendants, in the act of worship, or listening to his instructions. Before the image of Gaudama, are erected small altars, on which offerings of fruit, flowers, &c. are laid. Large images of elephants, lions, angels, and demons, together with a number of indescribable objects, all assist in filling the picturesque scene.

"The ground on which this pagoda is situated, commands a view of the surrounding country, which presents one of the most beautiful landscapes in nature. The polished spires of the pagodas, glistening among the trees at a distance, appear like the steeples of meeting-houses in our American sea-ports. The verdant appearance of the country, the hills and valleys, ponds and rivers, the banks of which are covered with cattle, and fields of rice; each, in their turn, attract the eye, and cause the beholder to exclaim, 'Was this delightful country made to be the residence of idolaters? Are those glittering spires, which, in consequence of association of ideas, recal to mind so many animating sensations, but the monuments of idolatry?' O my friend! scenes like these, productive of feelings so various and opposite, do, notwithstanding, fire the soul with

an unconquerable desire to make an effort to rescue this people from destruction, and lead them to the Rock that is higher than they."

In November, 1817, Mr. Edward Wheelock, a member of the Second Baptist Church, in Boston, and Mr. James Colman, a member of the Third Baptist Church, in that city, sailed from Boston, to join the Mission. They were young men of talents, and of exemplary piety, who were constrained by the love of Christ, to offer themselves as messengers of the Saviour, to bear his unsearchable riches to the distant heathen. With the hope, that the sentiments uttered by these excellent young men, who were so soon summoned away from their earthly toils, may enkindle a flame of zeal in some kindred hearts, the following extracts are quoted from their letters to the Board :

Mr. Colman wrote thus—" Since I came to the above conclusion, my mind has been unwavering. It is true, mountains, at times, have arisen between myself and the eastern world. My way has been hedged up by difficulties, which, to the eye of human reason, might appear insurmountable. But duty has constantly appeared the same. Indeed, I esteem missionary work, not only as a duty for me to perform, but as a privilege for me to enjoy ; a privilege which I value more than the riches of the earth. Only give me the rich satisfaction of holding up the torch of truth, in the benighted regions of Burmah ! This is the object which lies nearest my heart ; for this, I can cheerfully leave my native land, and the bosom of my beloved friends. I pant to proclaim the Gospel to those who are ignorant of it ; to present to their minds that firm foundation, on which my own hopes of eternal happiness are built. I look to Burmah as my home, and as the field of my future toils. To the wretched inhabitants of that empire, I long to present the Bible, the fountain of knowledge, and to direct their wandering steps to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. Nor can I refrain from cherishing the hope, that my feeble labours among them will be crowned with the blessing of Heaven. Some, I trust, will be induced to forsake the worship of idols, and to bow the knee to Him, on whose vesture and thigh is written, *King of Kings and Lord of Lords.* Prompted, as I believe, by a deep sense of the worth of souls, and by the command of our blessed Saviour, who says, ' *Go ye into all the world,*

and preach the Gospel to every creature; and encouraged by his promise of constant assistance and direction to his servants, I voluntarily and joyfully offer myself to be your Missionary to the Burman empire. May the Lord preside over your deliberations, and grant me, if it can be consistent with his holy will, the unspeakable happiness of proclaiming the love of Jesus to the miserable heathen."

Mr. Wheelock closed his application to the Board with the following lines:

"To you, honoured fathers, is my mind directed, as to those, who, under God, must decide my case. To you I offer, freely and joyfully, offer myself, to become your Missionary, to aid those already under your patronage, to turn the poor Burmans *from idols, to serve the living and true God.* And, O! if it is consistent, that one so unworthy, and so unqualified as myself, should engage in this glorious work, deny me not, I beseech you, the unspeakable privilege; deny me not the fondest, the most ardent desire of my soul, that can, in this world, be gratified. To deny me this, would be to deprive me of the greatest happiness which, in this world, I can possibly enjoy. I had rather be a Missionary of the cross, than a king on a throne. Let the men of this world possess its glittering toys; let the miser grasp his cankered gold; let the voluptuary enjoy his sordid pleasures; let the ambitious ascend to the pinnacle of earthly honour; but let me enjoy the sweet satisfaction of directing the poor pagans to the 'Lamb of God.' I court no greater good; I desire no greater joy; I seek no greater honour. To Burmah, would I go; in Burmah, would I live; in Burmah, would I toil; in Burmah, would I die; and in Burmah, would I be buried."

In December, 1817, Mr. Judson left Rangoon on a visit to Chittagong, in Arracan, for the purpose of benefitting his health, and of procuring one of the native Christians, residing there, who spoke the Burman language, to assist him in his first publick attempts to preach the Gospel. He designed to be absent but three months; but the vessel was detained by contrary winds, and becoming unmanageable in the difficult navigation along the coast, her direction was changed for Madras, and Mr. Judson had the unspeakable anguish of being borne away from the scene of his missionary labours to a distant part of India, which he had no

wish to visit. The vessel was unable to reach Madras, and Mr. Judson was carried to a place three hundred miles from that city, to which he was obliged to travel by land. Here he endeavoured to obtain a passage for Rangoon, but was unsuccessful; and he was detained at Madras, till July 20, when he sailed for Rangoon, in an English vessel.

During his absence, very alarming incidents occurred at Rangoon, which threatened, for a while, to destroy the mission. Nothing, indeed, but the special providence of God, and the firmness of Mrs. Judson, prevented an abandonment of the station, which might have been final. Under date of January 18, 1818, she thus wrote to Dr. Baldwin:

"We still live in a quiet manner, unmolested by government, or robbers. The viceroy's family treat us with respect and affection, now and then sending us an elephant, to accompany them in their excursions. Her highness, the vicereign, professes a particular regard for me, and I, in return, have presented her with a translation of Matthew's Gospel, a tract, and catechism, and have had two or three opportunities of conversing with her privately on the subject of religion. How much she reads in the former, or believes in the latter, I am unable to say; but neither produces any visible effect. She ordered the instructress of one of her daughters, to give the catechism, for her to commit to memory.

"*January* 30. The Burman, Mr. Judson mentioned some time ago, as being the first serious inquirer, and one who has excited the most hope, came to-day to the mission-house. It is now almost a year since he first came, and with much apparent anxiety inquired, 'How long time will it take me to learn the religion of Jesus?' We have since frequently inquired, but obtained little information respecting him, until to-day. Soon after his first visit, he was appointed governor of a cluster of villages situated on the Syrian river, in the country of Pegu. He has been at Rangoon but once since, and then on business by order of the viceroy, and obliged to return immediately.

"I asked him if he had become a disciple of Jesus Christ. He replied, 'I have not yet, but I am thinking and reading in order to become one. I cannot yet destroy my old mind; for when I see a handsome patso, (a cloth the Burman men wear,) or a handsome gownbown, (the handkerchief worn

on the head,) I still desire them. Tell the great teacher, when he returns, that I wish to see him, though I am not a disciple of Christ.' He requested the remaining part of Matthew's Gospel, also catechisms and tracts for his followers. I gave all of his attendants tracts; on which he said to them, 'Take and read them attentively, and when you have embraced the doctrines they contain, come here and converse with the teacher.' "

A letter, dated February 18, 1818, says:

"It is now four long years and a half, since we took up our residence in this spiritually benighted land, and to this day do we offer our thanks to God, for having brought and continued us here. To this day can we testify that God is good; that he is a faithful, covenant-keeping God, who is worthy of the entire trust and confidence of all his creatures. Never, for a moment, has he left us to feel, that our first views of the practicability of missions were visionary; consequently we have been preserved from those distressing, agonizing feelings, resulting from regret and disappointment in a darling enterprise. On the contrary, we feel that missions to the heathen are not only practicable, but that the very blood of their souls will be required at the hand of those Christians, who neglect to make exertions to send the Gospel among them."

Mrs. Judson thus describes the events to which, in the preceding page, we alluded:

"Three months of Mr. Judson's absence had nearly expired, and we had begun to look for his return, when a native boat arrived, twelve days from Chittagong, bringing the distressing intelligence, that neither Mr. Judson nor the vessel had been heard of at that port. I should not have given so much credit to this report, as to have allowed its harassing my feelings, had it not been corroborated by communications from my friends in Bengal, which arrived just at this time. From the circumstance, that the vessel had not reached the port of destination, I knew not what conclusion to draw. Hope, at times, suggested the idea that the ship's course might have been altered, that she might yet be safe; but despondency more frequently strove to *convince* me that all was lost. Thus was I, for four months, in that agonizing state of suspense, which is frequently more oppressive than the most dreaded certainty.

"Two or three days after the arrival of the above intelligence, Mr. Hough received an order, couched in the most menacing language, to appear immediately at the court-house, to give an account of himself. This, so unlike any message we had ever before received from government, spread consternation and alarm among our teachers, domesticks, and adherents; some of whom followed Mr. Hough at a distance, and heard the appalling words, from some of the petty officers, that a royal order had arrived, for the banishment of all foreign teachers. As it was late, when Mr. Hough arrived at the court-house, he was merely ordered to give security for his appearance at an early hour on the approaching day, when, to use their own unfeeling language, 'If he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, they would write with his heart's blood.'

"Our embarrassments at this period were greatly increased by the circumstance, that the viceroy and family, who had always been our steady friends, had been recently recalled to Ava; and the present viceroy, with whom we had but a slight acquaintance, had left his family at the capital. Mr. Hough was not sufficiently acquainted with the language, to allow his appealing in person to the viceroy; and, as it is not customary for females to appear at *his* court, in the absence of the vicereign, we had nothing before us but the gloomy prospect of being obliged to submit to all those evils, in the power of petty officers to inflict, when unprotected by higher authority.

"The following days, Friday and Saturday, Mr. Hough was detained at the court-house, and under the necessity of answering, through an interpreter, the most trivial questions; such as, what were the names of his parents, how many suits of clothes he had, &c. all which were written down in the most formal manner imaginable. The court would not allow his retiring for any refreshment; and this, together with several other petty grievances, convinced us that it was their object to harass and distress us as much as possible; feeling safe in the idea that circumstances were such that we could not appeal to the viceroy."

It appeared, in the issue, that the object of the Burman officers was, to extort money from Mr. Hough. An order had been received from the King, that the Portuguese priests, three in number, should leave the country. To ascertain who they were, the viceroy had issued an

order that all the foreign priests should appear at the court house, not intending that any but the Portuguese should be examined, further than to ascertain that they were not Portuguese. Mr. H. and Mrs. J. resolved to appeal to the viceroy, and Mrs. J.'s teacher drew up a petition, which she herself presented, with some of the feelings and of the intrepidity of Esther. The viceroy immediately commanded, that Mr. Hough should receive no further molestation.

About this time, that dreadful disorder, the cholera morbus, began to rage among the natives. It was in the hottest season of the year, and Rangoon was soon filled with consternation. The natives attributed the disease to evil spirits, who were traversing the streets; and they endeavoured to expel them, by making a noise. Cannons were accordingly fired, and every one began beating his house with clubs and other instruments of uproar. But the disease continued to make frightful ravages. By the blessing of God, however, not a single individual, on the mission premises, died. There was, at this time, too, a report of war between England and Burmah, and the English vessels were hastening to depart. It was now six months since Mr. Judson had been heard from. In these distressing circumstances, Mrs. Judson wrote to a friend, under date of July 2:

"Mr. Hough, for some time past, has been desirous to have Mrs. Hough, myself, and his children, go to Bengal. But I have ever felt resolved not to make any movement until I hear from Mr. Judson. Within a few days, however, some circumstances have occurred, which have induced me to make preparations for a voyage. There is but one remaining ship in the river, and if an embargo is laid on English ships, it will be impossible for Mr. Judson (if he is yet alive) to return to this place. But the uncertainty of meeting him in Bengal, and the possibility of his arriving in my absence, cause me to make preparations with a heavy heart. Sometimes I feel inclined to remain here, alone, and hazard the consequences. I should certainly conclude on this step, if any probability existed of Mr. Judson's return. This mission has never appeared in so low a state as at the present time. It seems now entirely destroyed, as we all expect to embark for Bengal in a day or two. Alas! alas! how changed our prospects since Mr. Judson left us. How dark, how intricate the providence which now surrounds us! Yet it becomes us to be

still, and know that he is God, who has thus ordered our circumstances.

"*July* 14. Alone, my dear friends, in this great house, without an individual, excepting my little girl and Burmans, I take my pen to relate the strange vicissitudes through which I have passed within a few days.

"On the 5th of this month, I embarked with Mr. Hough and family for Bengal, having previously disposed of what I could not take with me. I had engaged Mr. Judson's teacher to accompany me, that in case of meeting him in Bengal, he could go on with his Burman studies. But the teacher, fearing the difficulties arising from his being a Burman, broke his engagement, and refused to go. My disinclination to proceed in the course commenced, had increased to such a degree, that I was on the point of giving up the voyage myself; but my passage was paid, my baggage on board, and I knew not how to separate myself from the rest of the mission family. The vessel, however, was several days in going down the river; and when on the point of putting out to sea, the captain and officers ascertained she was in a dangerous state, in consequence of having been improperly loaded, and that she must be detained for a day or two at the place in which she then lay. I immediately resolved on giving up the voyage, and returning to town. Accordingly the captain sent up a boat with me, and engaged to forward my baggage the next day. I reached town in the evening—spent the night at the house of the only remaining Englishman in the place, and today have come out to the mission-house, to the great joy of all the Burmans left on our premises. Mr. Hough and his family will proceed, and they kindly and affectionately urge my return. I know I am surrounded by dangers on every hand, and expect to see much anxiety and distress; but at present I am tranquil, and intend to make an effort to pursue my studies as formerly, and leave the event with God."

Thus did this noble minded woman resolve to remain alone at Rangoon, and resolutely confront all the perils which might beset her; although she was entirely uncertain whether her husband was yet alive. The event justified her courage, and rewarded her constancy.

In a few days, Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, and the apprehensions of his wife were at once dispelled.

The vessel in which Mr. and Mrs. Hough had taken passage, was detained for several weeks; but they finally sailed for Bengal, carrying with them the press and other printing apparatus.

In April, 1818, Messrs. Colman and Wheelock, with their wives, arrived at Calcutta, from Boston, after a pleasant voyage, during which their prayers and zealous instructions were made instrumental by the Holy Spirit, in the conversion of several of the seamen. They sailed from Calcutta, August 19, for Rangoon, where they arrived, September 19, a few weeks after the return of Mr. Judson. Thus did the clouds, which had recently hung over the mission, disperse; and the Missionaries felt the truth and beauty of the sentiment:

> "The Lord can clear the darkest skies,
> Can give us day for night;
> Make drops of sacred sorrow rise
> To rivers of delight."

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Judson commences Preaching—First Convert baptized—Death of Mr. Wheelock.

The mission had now been established several years, and something had been done, by private conversation, and through the press, to convey the knowledge of salvation to the natives. But it was thought that the time was now arrived for more publick and enlarged efforts. Mr. Judson was now sufficiently master of the language to preach publickly. Tracts and portions of the Scriptures were ready to be placed in the hands of inquirers. It was, therefore, resolved to erect a small building, (called a zayat,) adjoining the mission premises, near a great road leading to one of the principal pagodas, and consequently much thronged. Here it was designed to preach the Gospel, and to converse with any persons who might choose to visit it. This was a hazardous attempt. The Missionaries had remained unmolested, because they had lived retired, and had been able to obtain the favour of the viceroy. But a publick attempt to preach the Gospel, and to convert the

natives to Christianity, was likely to attract the attention and displeasure of the government. It was well known, that a renunciation of the established religion would be punished with death. But the Missionaries resolved to make the attempt, and trust in the Lord for protection.

Messrs. Colman and Wheelock immediately commenced the study of the language, but their health was so impaired, particularly that of Mr. W. that their progress was slow and limited.

In April, 1819, the zayat was opened, and a new era in the mission commenced. Mr. Judson says:

"To-day, the building of the zayat being sufficiently advanced for the purpose, I called together a few people that live around us, and commenced publick worship in the Burman language. I say *commenced*, for though I have frequently read and discoursed to the natives, I have never before conducted a course of exercises which deserved the name of *publick* worship, according to the usual acceptation of that phrase among Christians; and though I began to preach the Gospel, as soon as I could speak intelligibly, I have thought it hardly becoming to apply the term preaching, (since it has acquired an appropriate meaning in modern use,) to my imperfect, desultory exhortations and conversations. But I hope, though with fear and trembling, that I have now commenced a course of publick worship, and regular preaching.

"The congregation to-day consisted of fifteen persons only, besides children. Much disorder and inattention prevailed, most of them not having been accustomed to attend Bnrman worship. May the Lord grant his blessing on attempts made in great weakness, and under great disadvantages; and all the glory will be his.

"*April* 6. This evening I went, for the second time, to hear a popular Burman preacher. On our arrival, we found a zayat, in the precincts of one of the most celebrated pagodas, lighted up, and the floor spread with mats. In the centre was a frame raised about eighteen inches from the ground, where the preacher, on his arrival, seated himself. He appeared to be about forty-five years old, of very pleasant countenance, and harmonious speech. He was once a priest, but is now a layman. The people, as they came in, seated themselves on the mats, the men on one side of the house, and the women on the other. It

was an undistinguished day, and the congregation was very small, not more than one hundred. When we entered, some said, 'There come some wild foreigners;' but when we sat down properly, and took off our shoes, they began to say, 'No, they are not wild, they are civilized.' Some recognized me, and said to one another, 'It is the English teacher,' a name by which I am commonly known. The preacher soon took notice of us, entered into some conversation, invited us to visit him, and so on; but on learning that I was a Missionary, or, in their idiom, a religion-making-teacher, his countenance fell, and he said no more. The people being now convened, one, appointed for the purpose, called three times for silence and attention. Each one then took the flowers and leaves which had been previously distributed, and placing them between his fingers, raised them to his head, and in that respectful posture, remained motionless, until the service was closed. This ceremony we of course declined. When all things were properly adjusted, the preacher closed his eyes, and commenced the exercise, which consisted in repeating a portion from their sacred writings. His subject was the conversion of the two prime disciples of Gaudama, and their subsequent promotion and glory. His oratory I found to be entirely different from all that we call oratory. At first, he seems dull and monotonous; but presently, his soft, mellifluent tones win their way into the heart, and lull the soul into that state of calmness and serenity, which, to a Burman mind, somewhat resembles the boasted perfection of their saints of old. His discourse continued about half an hour; and at the close, the whole assembly burst out into a short prayer, after which all rose and retired. This man exhibits twice every evening, in different places. Indeed he is the only popular lay preacher in the place. As for the priests, they preach on special occasions only, when they are drawn from their seclusion and inactivity, by the solicitations of their adherents.

"25, *Lord's day*. Yesterday we completed the zayat, set up the front stairs, and laid open the entrance from the road. This morning I took my seat on the floor in the open porch, under some solemn impression of the great responsibility attached to my new mode of life.

"In the forenoon the members of the mission family came over to have our usual worship, having concluded to hold it for a few Sundays in the zayat, rather than in the

house, in order to give the Burmans some idea of the place.

"In the afternoon our people came together, and several came in from the road, so that we had an assembly of between twenty-five and thirty, besides children. At the close of the service, I distributed several tracts to the strangers.

"27. One of the most attentive of the hearers last night, came again, with a petty officer from another village. They staid the most of the day, and received a great deal of instruction; and left, with the promise that they would come as often as the distance of their residence would permit. Considerably encouraged to-day, with the hope that God is preparing a people in this benighted land.

"28. Nothing interesting through the day. At night, encountered a bitter opposer: he had visited Bengal, and some foe to missions had poisoned his mind: he manifested a most virulent spirit. I felt that he would most gladly be foremost in destroying us. But through divine grace I was enabled to treat him with meekness and gentleness, and he finally left me politely. He appeared to be rich, and had several followers."

Mrs. Judson thus describes the zayat, and the method of conducting the school:

"The zayat is situated thirty or forty rods from the mission-house; and in dimensions, is twenty-seven by eighteen feet. It is raised four feet from the ground, and is divided into three parts. The first division is laid entirely open to the road, without doors, windows, or a partition in the front side, and takes up a third part of the whole building. It is made of bamboo and thatch, and is the place where Mr. Judson sits all the day long, and says to the passers by, 'Ho! every one that thirsteth,' &c. The next, and middle division, is a large airy room, with four doors and four windows, opening in opposite directions; made entirely of boards, and is whitewashed, to distinguish it from the other zayats around us.

"In this room, we have publick worship in Burman on the Sabbath; and, in the middle of which, I am now situated at my writing table, while six of the male scholars are at one end, each with his torch and black board, over which he is industriously bending, and emitting the curi-

ous sounds of the language. The third, and last division, is only an entry way, which opens into the garden, leading to the mission house.

"In this apartment, all the women are seated, with their lights and black boards, much in the same position and employment as the men. The black board, on which all the Burmans learn to read and write, answers the same purpose as our slates. They are about a yard in length, made black with charcoal and the juice of a leaf; and letters are clearly imprinted with a species of white stone, a little similar to our slate pencils. A lesson is written out on this board, by an instructer; and when the scholar is perfect master of it, it is erased, and a new one written. The Burmans are truly systematick in their elementary instructions, and a scholar is not considered qualified to read without spelling, until he has a perfect knowledge of all the various combinations of letters."

At this time Mrs. Judson wrote the following letter to her sister:

"*Rangoon, April* 29, 1819.

"My dear Sister M.

"Being left alone in my room this afternoon, I know not how I can spend it more pleasantly than in writing to a dear, far-distant sister, whom I never expect to meet again, until we arrive at our Father's house in heaven. Though it is seven long years since I left my native land and scenes of my earliest years, they are as fresh in my recollection as though it were but yesterday; and the wound then inflicted every now and then opens and bleeds afresh. I believe very few females who have left their native country, have had it in their power to make such sacrifices as myself. When I think of my pleasant home, and dear Bradford friends; the flattering prospects and sources of enjoyment which I left, I am often led to wonder how I was ever made willing to forsake them, and deliberately embrace a life replete with vicissitudes, as the present. But, my dear sister Mary, a little sacrifice for the cause of Christ is not worth naming; and I feel it a privilege, of which I am entirely undeserving, to have had it in my power to sacrifice my all for him who hesitated not to lay down his life for sinners. I rejoice that I had a pleasant home; dear friends and flattering prospects to relinquish, and that once in my life I had an opportunity of manifesting my little attachment to the cause of Christ. I know you

often wish to know *certainly*, whether I still approve of the first step I took in the missionary cause; and whether, if I had the choice again to make, with my present knowledge and views of the subject, I should make the same. Well, I frankly acknowledge that I should do just the same, with this exception; that I should commence such a life, with much more fear and trembling on account of my unfitness; and should almost hesitate whether one so vile, so poorly qualified, ought to occupy a sphere of so much usefulness. I do, at times, feel almost ready to sink down in despair, when I realize the responsibility of my situation, and witness my short-comings in duty. If I have grown any in grace since I have left America, it has consisted entirely in an increasing knowledge of my unspeakably wicked heart. As to my real religious enjoyment, I think, generally speaking, I have not experienced more than when in America. I do hope, however, vile as I am, to obtain an inheritance in that better world, where Jesus has prepared mansions for his followers, and will introduce them there himself, sprinkled with his blood, and clothed in his righteousness.

"Relative to the mission, it is gaining ground slowly, but I hope surely. We have a place erected for publick worship, where Mr. Judson and myself spend the day in conversing with all who call; he with the men, and I with the women. On the Sabbath we have regular publick worship in the Burman language. The building is situated on one of the publick roads; which, on account of its being lined on both sides with pagodas, is called Pagoda road.

"This last week has been a very interesting one to us, on account of having had several very hopeful inquirers, who really appeared to be a prepared people for the Lord. I have a meeting every Wednesday evening with the females, many of whom appear attentive and inquisitive.

"I have been attending to the Siamese language for a year and a half. It is a language easy of acquisition, when one has a teacher he understands. I have not found it so difficult as the Burman; but it has been owing, probably, to the teacher's being a Burman, as well as Siamese scholar. There are several thousands of Siamese who live in Rangoon, and who speak and write the pure language of Siam. With the assistance of the teacher, I have made a translation of the Burman catechism, tract, and Matthew. I have also nearly completed a translation of one of their celebrated books into English. It is an account of the incar-

nation of one of their deities, when he existed in the form of a great elephant."

The 30th April, 1819, is a memorable day in the history of this Mission. On that day, Moung Nau,* the first convert, made his first visit to the zayat. He was then silent and reserved, and excited little attention or hope. But the next day, and on several succeeding days, he repeated his visit. Mr. Judson says in his journal, May 5th:

"Moung Nau has been with me several hours. I begin to think that the grace of God has reached his heart. He expresses sentiments of repentance for his sins, and faith in the Saviour. The substance of his profession is, that from all the darkness, and uncleanness, and sins, of his whole life, he has found no other Saviour but Jesus Christ; no where else can he look for salvation; and therefore he proposes to adhere to Christ, and worship him all his life long.

"It seems almost too much to believe, that God has begun to manifest his grace to the Burmans; but this day I could not resist the delightful conviction, that this is really the case. PRAISE AND GLORY BE TO HIS NAME FOREVERMORE. Amen.

"*May* 6. Moung Nau was again with me a great part of the day. He appears to be slowly growing in religious knowledge, and manifests a teachable, humble spirit, ready to believe all that Christ has said, and obey all that he has commanded.

"He is thirty-five years old, no family, middling abilities, quite poor, obliged to work for his living—and therefore his coming day after day to hear the truth, affords stronger evidence that it has taken hold of his mind. May the Lord graciously lead his dark mind into all the truth, and cause him to cleave inviolably to the blessed Saviour.

"8. Burman day of worship. Thronged with visitors through the day. Had more or less company, without intermission, for about eight hours. Several heard much of the Gospel, and engaged to come again. Moung Nau was with me a great part of the day, and assisted me much in explaining things to new comers. Towards night, a man

* It may be well here to state, that the Burmans use a number of titles, like our Mr. Miss and Mrs. to designate individuals, with reference to their age: *Moung*, denotes a young man; *Oo*, an old man; *Men*, a girl; *Mah*, a young woman; *May*, an old woman.

came in, by name of Moung Shwa Oo, whom I think it time to mention particularly, as he has visited me several times; and though, like Moung Nau, apparently backward at first, he appears to be really thoughtful. He is a young man of twenty-seven, of very pleasant exterior, and evidently in good circumstances.

"9, *Lord's day*. Moung Shwa Oo came in the morning, and staid through the whole day. Only two or three of all I conversed with yesterday came again—Had, however, an assembly of thirty—After worship some warm disputation. I begin to feel that the Burmans cannot stand before the truth. In the course of conversation Moung Nau declared himself a disciple of Christ, in presence of a considerable number; and even Moung Shwa Oo appeared to incline the same way.

"11. Had more or less company from morning till night. Among the rest Moung Shwa Oo, and two or three others, who appear to be pretty well satisfied that the Boodhist religion has no foundation. Conversation was very animated, and somewhat encouraging; but I wanted to see more seriousness, and more anxiety to be saved from sin.

"Heard much to-day of the danger of introducing a new religion. All agreed in opinion, that the king would cut off those who embraced it, being a king who could not bear that his subjects should differ in sentiment from himself, and who has, for a long time, persecuted the priests of the established religion of the empire, because they would not sanction all his innovations. Those who seemed most favourably disposed, whispered me, that I had better not stay in Rangoon and talk to common people, but go directly to the '*lord of life and death*.' If he approved of the religion, it would spread rapidly; but, in the present state of things, nobody would dare to prosecute their inquiries, with the fear of the king before their eyes. They brought forward the case of the Kolans, a sect of Burmans, who have been proscribed and put to death under several reigns. I tried to set them right in some points, and encouraged them to trust in the care of an Almighty Saviour; but they speak low, and look around fearfully, when they mention the name of the '*owner of the sword*.'

"13. Moung Shwa Doan, a man who has attended two Sundays, and made some occasional visits, was with me several hours. He professes to have felt the truth of this religion, ever since he first heard about it, and now desires

to be a disciple of Christ. He has obtained, I find, considerable knowledge of the Christian system; but does not appear to have much sense of his own sins. May the Spirit teach him what man cannot.

"21. Had several attentive hearers; among the rest, Moung A, who says that the good news has taken hold of his mind. I have been so frequently disappointed in visitors, who appeared promising the first time, but never came again, that I have lost all credit in early professions; yet I cannot but hope well of this man, especially as Moung Nau appeared to like him better than any other inquirer.

"*June* 6, *Lord's day.* After partaking of the Lord's supper in the evening, we read and considered the following letter of Moung Nau, which he wrote of his own accord:

'I, Moung Nau, the constant recipient of your excellent favour, approach your feet. Whereas my Lord's three have come to the country of Burmah, not for the purpose of trade, but to preach the religion of Jesus Christ, the Son of the eternal God, I, having heard and understood, am with a joyful mind, filled with love.

'I believe that the Divine Son, Jesus Christ, suffered death, in the place of men, to atone for their sins. Like a heavy laden man, I feel my sins are very many. The punishment of my sins, I deserve to suffer. Since it is so, do you, sirs, consider that I, taking refuge in the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, and receiving baptism, in order to become his disciple, shall dwell one with yourselves, a band of brothers, in the happiness of heaven, and therefore grant me the ordinance of baptism.* It is through the grace of Jesus Christ, that you, sirs, have come by ship, from one country and continent to another, and that we have met together. I pray my Lord's three, that a suitable day may be appointed, and that I may receive the ordinance of baptism.

'Moreover, as it is only since I have met with you, sirs, that I have known about the eternal God, I venture to pray that you will still unfold to me the religion of God, that my old disposition may be destroyed, and my new disposition improved.'

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* "At the time of writing this, not having heard much of baptism, he seems to have ascribed an undue efficacy to the ordinance. He has since corrected his error; but the translator thinks it the most fair and impartial, to give the letter just as it was written at first."

"We have all, for some time, been satisfied concerning the reality of his religion, and therefore voted to receive him into church fellowship, on his being baptized, and proposed next Sunday for administering the ordinance.

"20, *Lord's day.* To-day, Moung Shwa Doan appeared again, after an absence of several weeks, and a little revived our hopes concerning him. Several whom I have particularly mentioned, have discontinued their visits, though I am satisfied that they are convinced of the falsity of the Burman religion, and of the truth of the Christian. I cannot possibly penetrate their motives. Whether, after several visits, they meet with some threatening suggestion, that awakens their fears of persecution, or whether, at a certain stage in their inquiries, they get such an insight into the Gospel, as rouses the enmity of the carnal heart, I am not able from my experience hitherto to ascertain."

During the period embraced in the preceding extracts, they had been annoyed by vexatious taxes, which they were forced to pay. In June, the news arrived that the king had died, or (as the Burmans expressed it,) "had gone up to amuse himself in the celestial regions." His grandson succeeded to the throne, after putting to death one of his uncles, and imprisoning another, who soon after died. Such are the usual accompaniments of the accession of a new monarch in oriental countries.

"*June* 23. Had some encouraging conversation with Moung Thahlah, a young man, who has been living in our yard several months. He had lately made me several visits at the zayat, and appeared very thoughtful and teachable. To-day, on being asked the state of his mind, he replied with some feeling, that he and all men were sinners, and exposed to future punishment; that, according to the Boodhist system, there was no way of pardon; but that, according to the religion which I taught, there was not only a way of pardon, but a way of enjoying endless happiness in heaven; and that, therefore, he wanted to believe in Christ. I stated to him, as usual, that he must think much on the love of Christ, and pray to God for an enlightened mind and new heart, and then gave him a form of prayer suited to his case.

"In the evening female meeting, his sister, Mah Baik, whose husband also lives in our yard, manifested consider-

able feeling, (especially when Mrs. Judson prayed with her alone,) and expressed strong desire to obtain an interest in the Saviour."

On the 27th of June, 1819, the first baptism occurred in the Burman empire. It was a day of unutterable joy to the Missionaries, who had so long been "going forth weeping, bearing precious seed."

"27, *Lord's day*. There were several strangers present at worship. After the usual course, I called Moung Nau before me, read and commented on an appropriate portion of Scripture, asked him several questions concerning his *faith*, *hope*, and *love*, and made the baptismal prayer, having concluded to have all the preparatory exercises done in the zayat. We then proceeded to a large pond, in the vicinity, the bank of which is graced with an enormous image of Gaudama, and there administered baptism to the first Burman convert. O, may it prove the beginning of a series of baptisms in the Burman empire, which shall continue in uninterrupted succession to the end of time!

"*July* 4, *Lord's day*. We have had the pleasure of sitting down, for the first time, at the Lord's table, with a converted Burman; and it was my privilege,—a privilege to which I have been looking forward with desire for many years,—to administer the Lord's supper in two languages."

The power and grace of God thus displayed, in the conversion of one Burman, the first who ever ventured publickly to profess the religion of Christ, afforded the strongest evidence of his approbation of the mission; and ministered the most cheering encouragement to the Missionaries. The new convert became a valuable assistant to Mr. Judson, and showed a strong desire to communicate to others the knowledge of that Saviour, who had become precious to his own heart. Mrs. Judson says, in a letter, dated June 3:

"Little did I think, when I last wrote, that I should so soon have the joyful intelligence to communicate, that one Burman has embraced the Christian religion, and given good evidence of being a true disciple of the dear Redeemer. This event, this single trophy of victorious grace, has filled our hearts with sensations, hardly to be conceived by Christians in Christian countries. This circumstance has convinced us, that God can and does operate on the minds of the most dark and ignorant; and that he makes

his own truths, his own word, the instrument of operation. It serves, also, to encourage us to hope, that the Lord has other chosen ones in this place. As Mr. Judson has given some account of the first impressions of this man, and as I have had him particularly under my instruction since his conversion, I will give you some of his remarks in his own words, with which you will be much interested. 'In our religion there is no way to escape the punishment due to sin; but, according to the religion of Christ, he himself has died in order to deliver his disciples. I wish all the Burmans would become his disciples; then we should meet together as you do in your country; then we should all be happy together in heaven. How great are my thanks to Jesus Christ for sending teachers to this country! and how great are my thanks to the teachers for coming! Had they never come and built that zayat, I should never have heard of Christ and the true God. I mourn that so much of my life passed away before I heard of this religion. How much I have lost!' It is peculiarly interesting to see with what eagerness he drinks in the truths from the Scriptures. A few days ago I was reading with him Christ's sermon on the mount. He was deeply impressed, and unusually solemn. 'These words,' said he, 'take hold on my very heart; they make me tremble. Here God commands us to do every thing that is good in secret, not to be seen of men. How unlike our religion is this! When Burmans make offerings to the pagodas, they make a great noise with drums and musical instruments, that others may see how good they are. But this religion makes the mind fear God; it makes it of its own accord fear sin.' When I read this passage, *Lay not up for yourselves treasures*, &c. he said, 'What words are these! It does not mean that we shall take the silver and gold from this world and carry them to heaven; but that, by becoming the disciples of Jesus, we shall live in such a manner as to enjoy heaven when we die.' We have taken him into our employ for the present, as a copyist, though our primary object was to have him near us, that we might have a better opportunity to know more of him before he received baptism, and of imparting to him more instruction than occasional visits could afford. Mornings and evenings he spends in reading the Scriptures, and when we all meet in the hall for family worship, he comes and sits with us; though he cannot understand, he says he can think of God in his heart.

"*June* 4. I have just had a very interesting meeting with the women, fifteen in number. They appeared unusually solemn, and I could not help hoping that the Holy Spirit was hovering over us, and would ere long descend, and enlighten their precious immortal souls. Their minds seem to be already prepared to embrace the truth, as their prejudices in favour of the Burman religion are apparently destroyed. They also appear to be convinced that the atonement for sin provided in the Gospel, is suitable for persons in their situation. But they frequently say, the great difficulty in the way of their becoming Christians, is the sinfulness of their hearts, which they cannot yet overcome. O for the influences of that Spirit, which can alone effect the mighty change!"

The operations of the mission thus proceeded, with many encouraging indications of divine favour, and of the effect of truth on the minds of several of the Burmans. Moung Thahlah, Moung E, May Baik, and others, appeared to be seriously intent on the salvation of their souls.

In July, Mr. Judson enlarged and revised the tract for a new edition, and added to it several prayers. Its title was, "A View of the Christian Religion, in four parts, Historical, Practical, Preceptive, and Devotional." It was sent to Serampore to Mr. Hough, and an edition of five thousand copies was printed.

On the 7th of August, Mr. Wheelock embarked for Bengal, in so low a state of health, that no hopes were cherished of his return. A few days after he sailed, a violent fever deprived him of his reason, and in a paroxysm of delirium, he plunged into the sea, and was drowned, the vessel sailing with such velocity, that no effort could be made to save him. Thus early did his Master call him away from the earth. The desire of his heart to visit the heathen was gratified; but he was not permitted to do any thing, to lead them to the Saviour whom he loved. Mysterious, indeed, are the ways of God. Mrs. Wheelock, who accompanied him on the voyage, proceeded to Bengal. The Board offered to defray the expenses of her return to this country; but she preferred to remain in Calcutta, hoping that she might be useful to the heathen. She has since been married to Mr. Jones, of Calcutta.

Several visitors attended occasionally at the zayat, but we cannot take special notice of any others, than those

who became real believers in the Saviour, and were baptized.

"*August* 22, *Lord's day*. Two of the adherents of the Mangen teacher, the popular preacher that I mentioned some time ago, were present at worship. I had much conversation with them; in the course of which, I so clearly refuted their system, in two or three instances, that they could not refrain from an involuntary expression of assent and approbation. They directly said, however, that it was impossible for them to think of embracing a new religion. I never saw more clearly the truth of our Saviour's words, *Ye will not come unto me.*

"After worship, had another conversation with Moung Thahlah. He hopes that he is a disciple of Jesus Christ in heart; but wants to know whether a profession of religion is indispensable to salvation. He fears the persecution that may hereafter come on those who forsake the established religion of the empire. I gave him such explanation as I thought suitable, and left him, with the solemn consideration, that unless he loved Christ above his own life, he did not love him sincerely, and ought not to hope that he is interested in his redemption.

"His sister Ma Baik is in a very similar state. She has been particularly attentive and solemn in her appearance for some time past.

"24. Another conversation with Moung Thahlah, which at length forces me to admit the conviction that he is a real convert; and I venture to set him down the second disciple of Christ among the Burmans. He appears to have all the characteristics of a new born soul; and though rather timid in regard to an open profession, has, I feel satisfied, that love to Christ, which will increase and bring him forward in due time."

The 26th of August was made memorable by the first visit of Moung Shwa-gnong, a learned teacher of considerable distinction. He appeared to be half deist and half sceptick.

"*August* 27. The teacher Moung Shwa-gnong came again, and staid from noon till quite dark. We conversed incessantly the whole time; but I fear that no real impression is made on his proud sceptical heart. He, however,

promised to pray to the eternal God, through Jesus Christ, and appeared at times to be in deep thought. He is a man of very superior argumentative powers. His conversation would probably shake the faith of many.

"31. A man, by the name of Moung Ing, has visited the zayat five or six days in succession. At first, a variety of other company prevented my attending much to him, and he conversed chiefly with Moung Nau, and employed himself in reading Matthew. He once told Moung Nau, that he had long been looking after the true religion, and was ready to wish that he had been born a brute, rather than to die in delusion, and go to hell. Sunday, I conversed with him largely, and his attention, during worship, was very close and solemn. To-day, he has made me half inclined to believe that a work of grace is begun in his soul. He says that he formerly had some idea of an eternal God, from his mother, who was christened a Roman Catholic, in consequence of her connexion with a foreigner; but that the idea was never rooted in his mind, until he fell in with the zayat. Within a few days, he has begun to pray to this God. He is quite sensible of his sins and of the utter inefficiency of the Boodhist religion; but is yet in the dark concerning the way of salvation, and says, that he wants to know more of Christ, that he may love him more. Lord Jesus, give him the saving knowledge of thine adorable self!

"*September* 3. A great crowd of company through the whole day; the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, from ten o'clock till quite dark, with several of his adherents. He is a complete Proteus in religion, and I never know where to find him. We went over a vast deal of ground, and ended where we began in apparent incredulity.

"After he was gone, Moung Ing, who has been listening all day, followed me home to the house, being invited to stay with Moung Nau, through the night. We conversed all the evening, and his expressions have satisfied us all, that he is one of God's chosen people. His exercises have been of a much stronger character than those of the others, and he expresses himself in the most decided manner. He desires to become a disciple in profession, as well as in heart, and declares his readiness to suffer persecution and death for the love of Christ. When I stated the danger to which he was exposing himself, and asked him whether he loved Christ better than his own life, he replied, very deliberately and solemnly, 'When I meditate on this religion, I know not what it is to love my own life.' Thus

the poor fisherman, Moung Ing, is taken, while the learned teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, is left.

"6. Spent the evening in conversing with Moung Byaa, a man, who, with his family, has lived near us for some time, a regular attendant on worship, an indefatigable scholar in the evening school, where he has learned to read, though fifty years old, and a remarkably moral character. In my last conversation, some time ago, he appeared to be a thorough legalist, relying solely on his good works; but yet sincerely desirous of knowing and embracing the truth. The greater part of the evening was spent in discussing his erroneous views; his mind seemed so dark and dull of apprehension, that I was almost discouraged. Towards the close, however, he seemed to obtain some evangelical discoveries, and to receive the humbling truths of the Gospel, in a manner which encourages us to hope that the Spirit of God has begun to teach him. The occasion of this conversation was, my hearing that he said that he intended to become a Christian, and be baptized with Moung Thahlah. He accordingly professes a full belief in the eternal God, and his Son Jesus Christ.

"11. Moung Shwa-gnong has been with me all day. It appears, that he accidentally obtained the idea of an Eternal Being, about eight years ago; and it has been floating about in his mind, and disturbing his Boodhist ideas, ever since. When he heard of us, which was through one of his adherents, to whom I had given a tract, this idea received considerable confirmation; and to-day he has fully admitted the truth of this first grand principle. The latter part of the day, we were chiefly employed in discussing the possibility and necessity of a divine revelation, and the evidence which proves that the writings of the apostles of Jesus contain that revelation; and I think I may say, that he is half inclined to admit all this. He is certainly a most interesting case. The way seems to be prepared in his mind, for the special operation of divine grace. Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove!

"His conversion seems peculiarly desirable, on account of his superior talents and extensive acquaintance with Burman and Pali literature. He is the most powerful reasoner I have yet met with in this country, excepting my old teacher, Oo Oungmen, (now dead,) and he is not at all inferior to him.

"*Oct.* 23. At night, Moung Thahlah and Moung Byaa presented a paper, professing their faith in Jesus Christ, and requesting to be baptized—but in private. We spent some time with them. They appear to have experienced divine grace; but we advised them, as they had so little love to Christ as not to dare to die for his cause, to wait and reconsider the matter.

"29. The teacher came again, after an interval of three weeks; but he appears to be quite another man. He was mentioned before the viceroy, as having renounced the religion of the country. The viceroy gave no decisive order; but merely said, 'Inquire further about him.' This reached the ears of Moung Shwa-gnong, and he directly went to the Mangen teacher, and, I suppose, apologized, and explained, and flattered. He denies that he really recanted, and I hope he did not. But he is evidently falling off from the investigation of the Christian religion. He made but a short visit, and took leave, as soon as he could decently.

"*Nov.* 6. The two candidates for baptism again presented their urgent petition, that they might be baptized; not absolutely in private, but about sunset, away from publick observation. We spent some hours in again discussing the subject with them, and with one another. We felt satisfied, that they were humble disciples of Jesus, and were desirous of receiving this ordinance, purely out of regard to his command, and their own spiritual welfare; we felt, that we were all equally exposed to danger, and needed a spirit of mutual candour, and forbearance, and sympathy; we were convinced, that they were influenced rather by desires of avoiding unnecessary exposure, than by that sinful fear, which would plunge them into apostacy, in the hour of trial; and when they assured us, that if actually brought before government, they could not think of denying their Saviour, we could not conscientiously refuse their request, and therefore agreed to have them baptized to-morrow at sunset.

"7. Lord's day. We had worship as usual, and the people dispersed. About half an hour before sunset the two candidates came to the zayat, accompanied by three or four of their friends; and, after a short prayer, we proceeded to the spot where Moung Nau was formerly baptized. The sun was not allowed to look upon the humble, timid profession. No wondering crowd crowned the overshadowing hill. No hymn of praise expressed the exult-

ing feeling of joyous hearts. Stillness and solemnity pervaded the scene. We felt, on the banks of the water, as a little, feeble, solitary band. But perhaps some hovering angels took note of the event, with more interest than they witnessed the late coronation; perhaps Jesus looked down on us, pitied and forgave our weaknesses, and marked us for his own; perhaps, if we deny him not, he will acknowledge us another day, more publickly than we venture at present to acknowledge him.

"In the evening, we all united in commemorating the dying love of our Redeemer; and I trust we enjoyed a little of his gracious presence in the midst of us.

"10. This evening is to be marked as the date of the first Burman prayer meeting that was ever held. None present but myself and the three converts. Two of them made a little beginning—such as must be expected from the first essay of converted heathens. We agreed to meet for this purpose every Tuesday and Friday evening, immediately after family worship; which, in the evening, has for some time been conducted in Burman and English; and which these people, and occasionally some others, have attended.

"14. Lord's day. Have been much gratified to find, that this evening the THREE CONVERTS REPAIRED TO THE ZAYAT, AND HELD A PRAYER MEETING OF THEIR OWN ACCORD.

"26. Ever since the affair of Moung Shwa-gnong, there has been an entire falling off at the zayat. I sometimes sit there whole days, without a single visitor, though it is the finest part of the year, and many are constantly passing.

"We and our object are now well known throughout Rangoon. None wish to call, as formerly, out of curiosity; and none dare to call from a principle of religious inquiry. And were not the leaders in ecclesiastical affairs confident that we shall never succeed in making converts, I have no doubt we should meet with direct persecution and banishment.

"Our business must be fairly laid before the emperor. If he frown upon us, all missionary attempts within his dominions will be out of the question. If he favour us, none of our enemies, during the continuance of his favour, can touch a hair of our heads. But there is a greater than the emperor, before whose throne we desire daily and constantly to lay the business. O, Lord Jesus, look upon us in our low estate, and guide us in our dangerous course!

"*Dec.* 4. Another visit from Moung Shwa-gnong. After several hours spent in metaphysical cavils, he owned that he did not believe any thing that he had said, and had only been trying me and the religion, being determined to embrace nothing but what he found unobjectionable and impregnable. 'What,' said he, 'do you think that I would pay you the least attention, if I found you could not answer all my questions, and solve all my difficulties?' He then proceeded to say, that he really believed in God, his Son Jesus Christ, the atonement, &c. Said I, (knowing his deistical weakness,) 'Do you believe all that is contained in the book of Matthew, that I have given you? In particular, do you believe that the Son of God died on a cross?' 'Ah,' replied he, 'you have caught me now. I believe that he suffered death: but I cannot admit that he suffered the shameful death of the cross.' 'Therefore,' said I, 'you are not a disciple of Christ. A true disciple inquires not whether a fact is agreeable to his own reason, but whether it is in the book. His pride has yielded to the divine testimony. Teacher, your pride is still unbroken. Break down your pride, and yield to the word of God.' He stopt, and thought. 'As you utter these words,' said he, 'I see my error: I have been trusting in my own reason, not in the word of God.' Some interruption now occurred. When we were again alone, he said, 'This day is different from all the days on which I have visited you. I see my error in trusting in my own reason; and I now believe the crucifixion of Christ, because it is contained in the Scripture.' Some time after, speaking of the uncertainty of life, he said, he thought he should not be lost, though he died suddenly. Why? 'Because I love Jesus Christ.' Do you really love him? 'No one that really knows him, can help loving him.' And so he departed."

Mr. and Mrs. Hough being in Bengal, and the lamented Wheelock having died, Mr. Judson, and his excellent and zealous associate, Mr. Colman, with their wives, were the only Missionaries at Rangoon. It seemed evident, that it would be in vain to proceed in their missionary labours, unless the favour of the monarch could be obtained. They resolved, therefore, after earnest prayer to God, to visit the capital. Permission was obtained from the viceroy, a boat was procured, and other preparations were made, for their long passage up the Irrawaddy.

CHAPTER XI.

Visit to Ava—Unsuccessful Interview with the King—Return to Rangoon—Death of Mr. Colman.

Messrs. Judson and Colman immediately set out on their visit to Ava, leaving their families at Rangoon. On the 22d of December, 1819, they embarked in a boat, six feet wide and forty feet long, and rowed by ten men. The faithful Moung Nau accompanied them, as a servant. They took with them, as a present to his Burman majesty, the Bible, in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in the Burman style; and each volume enclosed in a rich wrapper. Several pieces of fine cloth, and other articles, were designed for presents to other members of the government; as nothing can be done at an oriental court, without presents.

Their passage up the river was attended with much danger from robbers, who often committed depredations on boats, and usually murdered some of the passengers. But the Lord preserved them from molestation. Mr. Judson, in his journal, thus describes the ruins of Pah-gan, a city two hundred and sixty miles from Rangoon, and once the seat of government:

"*Jan.* 18. Took a survey of the splendid pagodas, and extensive ruins, in the environs of this once famous city. Ascended, as far as possible, some of the highest edifices; and at the height of one hundred feet, perhaps, beheld all the country round, covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size; some in utter ruin, some fast decaying, and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us. The pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque, delapidated relick of antiquity, checkered the motley scene. All conspired to suggest those elevated and mournful ideas, which are attendant on a view of the decaying remains of ancient grandeur; and though not comparable to such ruins as those of Palmyra and Balbec, (as they are represented) still deeply interesting to the antiquary, and more deeply interesting to the Christian Missionary. Here, about eight hundred years ago, the religion of Boodh was first publickly recognized, and estab-

lished as the religion of the empire. Here Shen Ah-rah-han, the first Boodhist apostle of Burmah, under the patronage of king Anan-ra-tha-men-zan, disseminated the doctrines of atheism, and taught his disciples to pant after annihilation, as the supreme good. Some of the ruins before our eyes, were probably the remains of pagodas, designed by himself. We looked back on the centuries of darkness that are past. We looked forward, and Christian hope would feign brighten the prospect. Perhaps we stand on the dividing line of the empires of darkness and light. O, shade of Shen Ah-rah-han! weep over thy fallen fanes; retire from the scenes of thy past greatness! But thou smilest at my feeble voice. Linger then, thy little remaining day. A voice mightier than mine,—a still small voice, will ere long sweep away every vestige of thy dominion. The churches of Jesus will soon supplant these idolatrous monuments, and the chanting of the devotees of Boodh will die away before the Christian hymn of praise."

On the 25th of January, 1820, they arrived safely at Amarapoora, at that time the capital of the empire, about 350 miles from Rangoon. It has since been forsaken, and the capital established at Ava, four miles below.

The particulars of their interview with the king are so important, that we shall insert them, with little alteration.

"*January* 26. We set out early in the morning, and repaired to the house of Mya-day-men, former viceroy of Rangoon, now one of the publick ministers of state (Woongyee.) We gave him a valuable present, and another of less value to his wife, the lady who formerly treated Mrs. J. with so much politeness. They both received us very kindly, and appeared to interest themselves in our success. We, however, did not disclose our precise object; but only petitioned leave to behold the golden face. Upon this, his highness committed our business to Moung Yo, one of his favourite officers, and directed him to introduce us to Moung Zah, one of the private ministers of state (Atwen-woon,) with the necessary orders. This particular favour of Mya-day-men prevents the necessity of our petitioning and feeing all the publick ministers of state, and procuring formal permission from the high court of the empire.

"In the evening, Moung Yo, who lives near our boat, called on us, to say that he would conduct us to-morrow. We lie down in sleepless anxiety. To-morrow's dawn will

usher in the most eventful day of our lives. To-morrow's eve will close on the bloom or the blight of our fondest hopes. Yet it is consoling to commit this business into the hands of our heavenly Father,—to feel that the work is His, not ours; that the heart of the monarch, before whom we are to appear, is under the control of Omnipotence; and that the event will be ordered in the manner most conducive to the divine glory and the greatest good. God may, for the wisest purposes, suffer our hopes to be disappointed; and if so, why should short-sighted, mortal man repine? Thy will, O God, be ever done; for thy will is inevitably the wisest and the best.

"27. We left the boat, and put ourselves under the conduct of Moung Yo. He carried us first to Mya-day-men, as a matter of form; and there we learnt, that the emperor had been privately apprized of our arrival, and said, 'Let them be introduced.' We therefore proceeded to the palace. At the outer gate, we were detained a long time, until the various officers were satisfied that we had a right to enter; after which we deposited a present for the private minister of state, Moung Zah, and were ushered into his apartments in the palace-yard. He received us very pleasantly, and ordered us to sit before several governors and petty kings, who were waiting at his levee. We here, for the first time, disclosed our character and object—told him, that we were Missionaries or 'propagators of religion;' that we wished to appear before the emperor, and present our sacred books, accompanied with a petition. He took the petition into his hand, looked over about half of it, and then familiarly asked several questions about our God, and our religion, to which we replied. Just at this crisis, some one announced that the golden foot was about to advance; on which the minister hastily rose up, and put on his robes of state, saying, that he must seize the moment to present us to the emperor. We now found, that we had unwittingly fallen on an unpropitious time, it being the day of the celebration of the late victory over the Cassays, and the very hour, when his majesty was coming forth, to witness the display made on the occasion. When the minister was dressed, he just said, 'How can you propagate religion in this empire? But come along.' Our hearts sunk at these inauspicious words. He conducted us through various splendour and parade, until we ascended a flight of stairs, and entered a most magnificent hall. He directed us where to sit, and took his place on one side;

the present was placed on the other, and Moung Yo, and another officer of Mya-day-men, sat a little behind. The scene to which we were now introduced, really surpassed our expectation. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole completely covered with gold, presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and those evidently great officers of state. Our situation prevented us from seeing the further avenue of the hall; but the end, where we sat, opened into the parade, which the emperor was about to inspect. We remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo whispered, that his majesty had entered. We looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught sight of this modern Ahasuerus. He came forward, unattended—in solitary grandeur—exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand, the gold-sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye, that chiefly rivetted our attention. He strided on. Every head, excepting ours, was now in the dust. We remained kneeling, our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention. He stopped, partly turned towards us—'Who are these?' 'The teachers, great king,' I replied. 'What, you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?' 'When did you arrive?' 'Are you teachers of religion?' 'Are you like the Portuguese priest?' 'Are you married?' 'Why do you dress so?' These, and some other similar questions, we answered; when he appeared to be pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat—his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, and it ran thus:—

"'The American teachers present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions; and having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended, and reached the bottom of the golden feet.

In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And since it is contained in those Scriptures, that, if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion, will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy, without decay or death, the eternal felicity of heaven,—that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to, and be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from government molestation, they present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea.'

"The emperor heard this petition, and stretched out his hand. Moung Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read it through. In the mean time, I gave Moung Zah an abridged copy of the tract, in which every offensive sentence was corrected, and the whole put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back, without saying a word, and took the tract. Our hearts now rose to God for a display of his grace. 'O, have mercy on Burmah! Have mercy on her king!' But, alas! the time was not yet come. He held the tract long enough to read the two first sentences, which assert, that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, besides Him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, perhaps disdain, he dashed it down to the ground! Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to us. Moung Yo made a slight attempt to save us, by unfolding one of the volumes which composed our present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice. Our fate was decided. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will, in the following terms: 'In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them—take them away.'

"Something was now said about brother Colman's skill in medicine; upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth, and said, 'Let them proceed to the residence of

my physician, the Portuguese priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly.' He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and there, after having dashed to the ground the first intelligence that he had ever received of the eternal God, his Maker, his Preserver, his Judge, he threw himself down on a cushion, and lay listening to the musick, and gazing at the parade spread out before him.

"As for us and our presents, we were hurried away, without much ceremony. We passed out of the palace gates with much more facility than we entered, and were conducted first to the house of Mya-day-men. There his officer reported our reception; but in as favourable terms as possible: and as his highness was not apprized of our precise object, our repulse appeared, probably, to him, not so decisive as we knew it to be. We were next conducted two miles, through the sun and dust of the streets of Ava, to the residence of the Portuguese priest. He very speedily ascertained that we were in possession of no wonderful secret, which would secure the emperor from all disease, and make him live forever; and we were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend Inquisitor, and retreat to our boat."

The next day they made some other efforts to accomplish their object, but in vain.

"We ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the policy of the Burman government, in regard to the toleration of any foreign religion, is precisely the same with the Chinese; that it is quite out of the question, whether any of the subjects of the emperor, who embrace a religion different from his own, will be exempt from punishment; and that we, in presenting a petition to that effect, had been guilty of a most egregious blunder, an unpardonable offence.

"It was now evening. We had four miles to walk by moon-light. Two of our disciples only followed us. They had pressed as near as they ventured to the door of the hall of audience, and listened to words which sealed the extinction of their hopes and ours. For some time we spoke not.

> 'Some natural tears we dropped, but wiped them soon.
> The world was all before us, where to choose
> Our place of rest, and Providence our guide.'

And, as our first parents took their solitary way through Eden, hand in hand, so we took our way through this great city, which, to our late imagination, seemed another Eden; but now, through the magick touch of disappointment, seemed blasted and withered, as if smitten by the fatal influence of the cherubick sword.

"Arrived at the boat, we threw ourselves down, completely exhausted in body and mind. For three days we had walked eight miles a day, the most of the way in the heat of the sun; which, even at this season, in the interior of these countries, is exceedingly oppressive: and the result of our travels and toils has been—the wisest and best possible—a result, which, if we could see the end from the beginning, would call forth our highest praise. O, slow of heart to believe and trust in the over-ruling agency of our own Almighty Saviour!"

An incident which occurred about fifteen years before, shows the policy of the Burman government, respecting religion.

"The Roman Catholick priests converted to their faith a Burman teacher of talents and distinction. They took great pains to indoctrinate him thoroughly in their religion, and entertained great hope of his usefulness in their cause. After his return from Rome, whither they had sent him to complete his Christian education, he was accused by his nephew, a clerk in the high court of the empire, of having renounced the established religion. The emperor, though he was far from approving the religion of Boodh, ordered that he should be compelled to recant. The nephew seized his uncle, cast him into prison and fetters, caused him to be beat and treated unmercifully; and at length had recourse to the torture of the iron mall. With this instrument he was gradually beaten, from the ends of his feet up to his breast, until his body was little else but one livid wound. At every blow, the sufferer pronounced the name of Christ; and declared afterwards, that he felt but little or no pain. When he was at the point of death, under the hands of his tormentors, some persons who pitied his case, went to the emperor with a statement that he was a madman, and knew not what he was about; on which the emperor gave orders for his release. The Portuguese took him away, concealed him until he was able to move, then sent him privately in a boat to Rangoon, and thence by ship to Bengal, where he finished his days.

"After this occurrence, the Roman priests, of whom there were only four in the country, did nothing in the way of proselyting, but confined their labours to their own flocks, which were composed of the descendants of foreigners. The man who accused his uncle was, at the time Mr. Judson visited the capital, the very first of the private ministers of state. Furthermore, the chief queen, who had great influence with his majesty, was particularly attached to the religion and the priests of Boodh."

So hopeless was the prospect of obtaining permission from the Burman government, to preach the Gospel to its subjects, that the Missionaries resolved to return immediately to Rangoon. The passage down the river was rapid. At Pyee, 230 miles from Ava, they met the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, who had come from Rangoon, on a visit to a sick friend.

"We stated to him," says Mr. Judson, "all our adventures at court, the distressing result of the expedition, and the present danger of propagating or professing the religion of Christ, and wound off with the story of the iron mall. He appeared to be less affected and intimidated by the relation, than we could have expected.

"He repeated with considerable emphasis the most prominent points of his present faith, as follows :—'I believe in the Eternal God, in his Son Jesus Christ, in the atonement which Christ has made, and in the writings of the apostles, as the true and only word of God.' 'Perhaps,' continued he, 'you may not remember, that during one of my last visits, you told me, that I was trusting in my own understanding, rather than the divine word. From that time, I have seen my error, and endeavoured to renounce it. You explained to me also the evil of worshipping at pagodas, though I told you that my heart did not partake in the worship. Since you left Rangoon, I have not lifted up my folded hands before a pagoda. It is true, I sometimes follow the crowd, on days of worship, in order to avoid persecution; but I walk up one side of the pagoda, and walk down the other. Now, you say, that I am not a disciple. What lack I yet?' I was now satisfied that he had made a little advance, since our last interview, which required a corresponding advance on my side. I replied, therefore, 'Teacher, you may be a disciple of Christ in heart, but you are not a full disciple. You have not faith and resolution

enough to keep all the commands of Christ, particularly that which requires you to be baptized, though in the face of persecution and death. Consider the words of Jesus, just before he returned to heaven, *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.* He received this communication in profound silence, and with that air, which I have observed to come upon him, when he takes a thing into serious consideration. Soon after, I hinted our intention of leaving Rangoon, since the emperor had virtually prohibited the propagation of the Christian religion, and no Burman, under such circumstances, would dare to investigate, much less to embrace it. This intelligence evidently roused him, and showed us that we had more interest in his heart than we thought. 'Say not so,' said he, 'there are some who will investigate, notwithstanding; and rather than have you quit Rangoon, I will go myself to the Mangen teacher, and have a publick dispute. I know I can silence him. I know the truth is on my side.' 'Ah,' said I, 'you may have a tongue to silence him, but he has a pair of fetters, and an iron mall to subdue you. Remember that.'"

On the 18th of February, they arrived at Rangoon. They immediately called the three disciples together, and disclosed to them the melancholy result of their visit. They stated to them their design of leaving Rangoon, and endeavouring to establish a mission, in a tract of country, containing about 1,200,000 inhabitants, between Bengal and Arracan, which is under the government of Bengal, but is inhabited chiefly by Arracanese, who speak a language similar to the Burman. A Missionary from Bengal, (De Bruyn) formerly resided at Chittagong, the chief town in this district, and baptized several converts, who at his death were left without instruction.

They expected that the disciples would be intimidated by the refusal of the emperor to tolerate the Christian religion. Mr. J. says:

"We thought, that if one out of the three remained firm, it was as much as we could reasonably hope for. But how delightfully were we disappointed. They all, to a man, appeared immoveably the same, yea, rather advanced in zeal and energy. They vied with each other, in trying to explain away difficulties, and to convince us, that the cause was not yet quite desperate. 'But whither are the teachers

going?' was, of course, an anxious inquiry. We then asked them severally what they would do. Moung Nau had previously told us, that he would follow us to any part of the world. He was only afraid that he should be a burden to us; for, not being acquainted with another language, he might not be able to get his living in a strange land. 'As for me,' said Moung Thah-lah, 'I go where preaching is to be had.' Moung Byaa was silent and thoughtful. At last he said, that as no Burman woman is allowed to leave the country, he could not, on account of his wife, follow the teachers; but (continued he, with some pathos,) if I must be left here alone, I shall remain performing the duties of Jesus Christ's religion; no other shall I think of. This interview with the disciples rejoiced our hearts, and caused us to praise God for the grace which he has manifested to them."

It was soon ascertained, that the converts were unanimously desirous that the Missionaries should not forsake the station at present; and that several individuals were examining the new religion. Moung Byaa came to them, with his brother-in-law, Moung Myat-yah:

"'Teacher,' said he, 'my mind is distressed; I can neither eat nor sleep, since I find you are going away. I have been around among those who live near us, and I find some who are even now examining the new religion. Brother Myat-yah is one of them, and he unites with me in my petitions. (Here Myat-yah assented that it was so.) Do stay with us a few months. Do stay till there are eight or ten disciples. Then appoint one to be the teacher of the rest: I shall not be concerned about the event; though you should leave the country, the religion will spread of itself. The emperor himself cannot stop it. But if you go now, and take the two disciples that can follow, I shall be left alone. I cannot baptize those who may wish to embrace this religion. What can I do?' Moung Nau came in, and expressed himself in a similar way. He thought, that several would yet become disciples, notwithstanding all opposition, and that it was best for us to stay a while. We could not restrain our tears at hearing all this; and we told them, that as we lived only for the promotion of the cause of Christ among the Burmans, if there was any prospect of success in Rangoon, we had no desire to go to another place, and would, therefore, re-consider the matter."

Thus, at the moment when ruin seemed to threaten the mission, the Lord was strengthening the hearts of the converts, and encouraging the Missionaries to remain at their posts, and proceed in the work of teaching the religion of the Gospel, trusting in his power for protection. It was finally resolved, that Mr. and Mrs. Judson should continue at Rangoon, and that Mr. and Mrs. Colman should proceed to Chittagong, and form a station there, at which the other Missionaries, and the converts, might find a refuge, should it be found impossible to remain at Rangoon, and where the Gospel might be spread among a population as idolatrous and wretched as that of Burmah itself. Accordingly, in March, 1820, Mr. and Mrs. Colman embarked for Bengal, whence they proceeded to Chittagong, where they arrived in June.

They erected a house in the midst of the native population, and made rapid progress in the acquisition of the language, which was commenced while in Rangoon. Mr. Colman had begun to communicate the truths of the Gospel publickly, and had witnessed their effect on the mind of his teacher, when these animating prospects were blasted by the sudden, unexpected, and lamented death of this valuable Missionary.

In Chittagong, he might have lived comfortably in civilized Christian society, under the protection of the English government, and been usefully employed in missionary avocations. But in imitation of the Redeemer, and prompted by feelings of compassion for immortal souls, he chose his residence in a native village, Cox's Bazar, where he was surrounded by poverty, ignorance and delusion, and where, too, he fell a martyr to his zeal, July 4, 1822.

Mrs. Colman returned to Bengal, where she engaged with great zeal, in the instruction of female children. She was afterwards married to the Rev. Mr. Sutton, an English Baptist Missionary, stationed in Bengal.

Mr. and Mrs. Judson were thus again left alone at Rangoon; though their solitude was cheered by the affectionate attachment of the converted Burmans, and by the appearances of sincere inquiry in the minds of several others. The teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, became gradually settled and firm in his faith, though he still hesitated to be baptized. Another learned casuist, named Oo Yan, visited Mr. Judson, and disputed with him with much subtlety and zeal.

"He was ready to admit, that the atheistick system of the Boodhists was not tenable; but endeavoured to fortify himself on a middle system, between that and the Christian; the very system in which Moung Shwa-gnong formerly rested, and which, for distinction's sake, may be fitly termed the semi-atheistick. Its fundamental doctrine is, that divine wisdom, not concentrated in any existing spirit, or embodied in any form, but diffused throughout the universe, and partaken in different degrees by various intelligences, and in a very high degree by the Boodhs, is the true and only God. This poor system, which is evidently guilty of suicide, Oo Yan made every possible effort to keep alive; but I really think, that in his own mind he felt the case to be hopeless. His mode of reasoning, however, is soft, insinuating, and acute; and so adroitly did he act his part, that Moung Shwa-gnong, with his strong arm, and I, with the strength of truth, were scarcely able to keep him down.

"*March* 15. Another visit from the teacher, accompanied by his wife and child. Again discussed the necessity of assembling on the Lord's day. Found that the sacraments of baptism and the supper are in his mind liable to similar objections. Forsook, therefore, all human reasoning, and rested the merits of the case on the bare authority of Christ: *Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.* Notwithstanding the remains of his deistical spirit, however, I obtained, during this visit, more satisfactory evidence of his real conversion, than ever before. He said, that he knew nothing of an eternally existing God, before he met with me; that, on hearing that doctrine, he instantly believed it; but that it was a long time before he closed with Christ. Can you recollect the time? said I. Not precisely, he replied; but it was during a visit, when you discoursed concerning the Trinity, the Divine Sonship of Jesus, and the great sufferings which he, though truly God, endured for his disciples. He afterwards spoke, with much Christian feeling, on the preciousness of the last part of the sixth chapter of Matthew, which he heard me read, day before yesterday, at evening worship.

"21. Moung Thah-lah introduced one of his relations, by name Moung Shwa-ba, as desirous of considering the Christian religion. Spent an hour or two in conversing with him. He was afterwards present at evening worship, and staid to converse, after the rest had retired.

"22. Another conversation with Moung Shwa-ba. He appears to be under deep religious impressions. His language and his looks evince an uncommon solemnity of spirit, an earnest desire to be saved from the wrath to come. After praying with him, I left him in company with Moung Thah-lah.

"24. Spent all the evening with Moung Shwa-ba. Feel satisfied that he has experienced a work of divine grace; but think it advisable to defer his baptism, until Sunday after next, in order to allow him full time to re-examine the religion, and the foundation of his hopes.

"26, Lord's day. Three women present at worship—acquaintances of Moung Shwa-gnong. They have visited Mrs. J. once or twice before. Mah Men-la renounced Gaudama, some years ago, and adopted the semi-atheistick system, but without obtaining any real satisfaction. Two years ago she met with a copy of the tract, which gave her an idea of an eternally existing God; but she knew not whence the paper came. At length, Moung Shwa-gnong told her that he had found the true wisdom, and directed her to us. Her case appears very hopeful."

On the 20th of April, Moung Shwa-ba was baptized, and immediately proposed to visit his native town, for the purpose of communicating to his friends the treasure which he had found:—So naturally does every renewed heart feel and obey the impulse of the missionary spirit, unless its emotions be chilled by avarice, or perverted by erroneous views of the Gospel. This convert, too, is a remarkable example of the rapid efficacy with which the Spirit of God is sometimes pleased to operate on the human mind. In the course of three days, from being an atheist, utterly ignorant of the true God, he became a disciple of Christ, and by his subsequent conduct manifested the sincerity of his attachment. Thus does the simple hearted man often embrace the Gospel, while the learned disputant cavils and doubts, and at last believes with reluctance, if at all. Moung Shwa-gnong was many months in arriving at the state of mind, which Moung Shwa-ba reached in three days.

Moung Shwa-ba was afterwards taken into the service of the mission, and became very useful as an assistant to Mr. Judson. The following extracts from Mr. Judson's journal, exhibit the progress of divine truth among the inquirers:

"*April* 20. Mah Men-la and her friends have been with Mrs. Judson all day. She gives increasing evidence of being a real disciple; but is extremely timid, through fear of persecution. One of her remarks deserves notice, as a natural expression of true Christian feeling. 'I am surprised,' said she, 'to find this religion has such an effect on my mind, as to make me love the disciples of Christ more than my dearest natural relations.' She is a woman of very superior discernment and mental energy. One of the women who has frequently accompanied her in her visits, met with a tract at old Pegu, about six weeks ago, and came all the way to Rangoon, chiefly, she says, on that account. This day I have finished the translation of the epistle to the Ephesians, begun before I went to Ava, but intermitted on account of the weakness of my eyes. It is with real joy that I put this precious writing into the hands of the disciples. It is a great accession to their scanty stock of Scripture, for they have had nothing hitherto but Matthew. Intend to give them Acts, as fast as my eyes will allow.

"30. Lord's day. One of the busiest days I have ever spent. Not a multitude of visitants, as formerly. That we cannot expect, in present circumstances. But, beside the usual evening assembly, there were eight or ten present at worship, some of whom were with me from nine in the morning till ten at night. Mah Men-la and her company were with Mrs. Judson, who has had a serious attack of the liver complaint, for a fortnight past, and is now in a course of salivation.

"Oo Yan, after having searched out all the difficult points of religion, came to-day to the *ne plus ultra*—How are sin and eternal misery reconcileable with the character of an infinitely holy, wise, and powerful God? He at length obtained such satisfaction, that he could not restrain laughing, from pure mental delight, and kept recurring to the subject, and repeating my remarks to those around him. He was accompanied, us usual, by his two friends, Moung Thah-a and Moung Myat-lah, husband of Mah Men-la. With these came also one Moung Yo, a disciple of Moung Shwa-gnong, a poor man, but a sharp reasoner. He was, or pretended to be, on the semi-atheistick plan. [See page 172.] After ascertaining his precise ground, I used an argument, which, in a late combat with Oo Yan, I found quite invincible. It is simply this: 'No mind, no wisdom—temporary mind, temporary wisdom—

eternal mind, eternal wisdom.' Now, as all the semi-atheists firmly believe in eternal wisdom, this concise statement sweeps, with irresistible sway, through the very joints and marrow of their system. And though it may seem rather simple and inconclusive, to one acquainted with Burman reasoning, its effect is uniformly decisive. No sooner is this short sentence uttered, than one significantly nods his head, as if to say, there you have it. Another cries out to the opponent, you are undone, destroyed. Another says, talk about wisdom; where else will you find it? The disputant himself, who was, perhaps, preparing a learned speech about the excellence and efficacy and eternity of wisdom, quite disconcerted by this unexpected onset, sits looking at the wreck of his system, and wondering at the simple means which have spread such ruin around him: presently he looks up, (for the Burmans are frequently candid,) and says, your words are very appropriate. And perhaps his next question is, How can I become a disciple of the God you worship?

"All the visitors to-day, and indeed all the semi-atheists, are despisers of Gaudama, and the established religion of the land. Moung Shwa-gnong has disseminated this heresy in Rangoon, for several years; but since he has become acquainted with us, he frequently tells his adherents, I know nothing; if you want true wisdom, go to the foreign teacher, and there you will find it. I have reason to believe that this heresy is not confined to Rangoon, but is taking root in various parts of the country, and preparing the way for the Christian religion. O, for toleration—a little toleration. We will be content to baptize in the night, and hold worship in private; but we do pray that we may not be utterly banished from the land; that we may not be cut up root and branch. O, that these poor souls, who are groping in the dark, feeling after the truth, may have time and opportunities to find the precious treasure, which will enrich them forevermore. We are all looking with anxiety towards the golden feet. Our viceroy, Moung Shwa-thah, has gone thither on a visit; and it is doubtful whether he will return, or his rival, Mya-day-men. If the latter, there is some reason to hope that we shall keep footing in Rangoon, at least during his administration."

It would be interesting to trace the exercises of mind of several individuals, as detailed in Mr. J.'s journal, among whom were Moung Myat-yah, Moung Thah-yah, Moung

Nyo-dwa, Moung Gway, and others. But the quotations which we have already made must suffice. On the 4th of June, Moung Myat-yah and Moung Thah-yah, were baptized, and received into the church. Mr. J. says:

"*June* 27. Mrs. J. after having been through two courses of salivation for the liver complaint, at length despairs of recovering, without some proper medical assistance. For a few days, we have hoped, that she would get some relief from the various applications which are made, though at the expense of an almost total exhaustion of strength; but this morning, to our utter disappointment, the disorder has returned with increased violence; and her constitution appears to be rapidly failing. I have intended, for some time past, to send her alone to Bengal; but she has become too weak, and the present circumstances of the case are too alarming, to allow such a measure; and I have, therefore, concluded to accompany her."

They immediately commenced their preparations for sailing. On ascertaining that they were about to depart, Moung Nyo-dwa and Moung Gway requested baptism, with great urgency, stating, that as they had fully embraced the religion of Christ, they could not remain easy without being baptized, agreeably to his command. They were accordingly baptized on the 16th of July.

The ship being detained, the teacher Moung Shwagnong expressed his desire to testify his faith and attachment to the Saviour, by being baptized, and becoming a member of the church. The church being satisfied that he had become a sincere disciple of the Saviour, though from fear and other causes he had hesitated to avow his faith, by a publick profession, joyfully agreed to receive him as a member after baptism. He was accordingly baptized on the 18th of July. The mind of Mah Men-la was so much affected on this occasion, that she requested to be immediately baptized, and as there was the most satisfactory evidence of her sincere conversion, she was baptized the same evening, being the tenth Burman convert, and the first female. On returning to the house, she said: "Now I have taken the oath of allegiance to Jesus Christ, and I have nothing to do but to commit myself, soul and body, into the hands of my Lord, assured that he will never suffer me to fall away."

It must be regarded as a signal proof of the favour of God, that, notwithstanding the hostility of the government,

and all the unfavourable circumstances which obstructed the operations of the mission, so much had been accomplished. The language had been acquired, and a grammar and dictionary compiled; a portion of the Scriptures had been translated, and printed; tracts had been issued; some knowledge of the truths of the Gospel had been communicated to many minds; and ten individuals had been made subjects of the grace of God, and at the hazard of their lives, had been baptized into the name of the Sacred Trinity. Surely, if no more had been effected by this mission, no one, who knows the value of a single soul, would think that it was established and sustained in vain.

On the 19th of July they sailed for Bengal. They were accompanied to the vessel by all the native converts, and by nearly a hundred other individuals, who testified sincere grief at their departure.

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival in Calcutta—Return to Rangoon—Dr. Price joins the Mission—Mrs. Judson sails for America.

They arrived in Calcutta on the 8th of August. Mrs. Judson's health seemed to have derived no essential benefit from the voyage. For the advantage of a more healthful climate, she was removed to Serampore. The state of her health continued such, that it was, for a while, thought necessary that she should remain several months in Bengal; but more favourable symptoms soon appeared, and she resolved to return with her husband to the scene of their labours. On the 5th of January, 1821, they arrived in Rangoon.

"*January* 5. As we drew near the town, we strained our eyes to distinguish the countenances of our friends amid the crowd that we saw assembled on the wharf. The first that we recognized was the teacher, Moung Shwagnong, with his hands raised to his head, as he discerned us on the deck; and, on landing, we met successively with Mah Men-la, and Moung Thah-lah, and several others, men, women, and children, who, after our usual examination at the custom-office, accompanied us to the mission-house. Soon after, Moung Nau, and others came in, who had not, at first, heard of our arrival. In the evening, I

took my usual seat among the disciples; and when we bowed down in prayer, the hearts of us all flowed forth in gratitude and praise.

"6. In the morning, we went to the government-house. The lady of the viceroy received Mrs. J. with the familiarity of a friend. We sat some time conversing with her. She informed us that she was now Woon-gyee-gah-dau, and was allowed to ride in a wau; (a vehicle carried by forty or fifty men;) dignities which very few Burman ladies attain. While we were sitting with her, the viceroy just made his appearance, stalking along, as usual, with his great spear. He looked down upon us a moment, saying, 'Ah! you are come;' and then passed on.

"13. Have spent the past week in getting our things in order, and receiving visits from the disciples and inquirers. Yesterday, Moung Gway, the only one of the baptized whom we had not seen, returned from the woods, on hearing of our arrival; and I am now able to record, (and I do it with the most heart-felt satisfaction and grateful praise to the preserving Saviour,) that though they have, for the space of six months, been almost destitute of the means of grace, and those who lived in our yard have been dispersed, and forced, through fear of heavy extortion and oppression from petty officers of government, to flee into the woods, or take refuge under some government person who could protect them; yet not one of them has dishonoured his profession, but all remain firm in their faith and attachment to the cause.

"The most important event, (and that relates of course to Moung Shwa-gnong,) remains to be mentioned. It will be remembered that he was accused before the former viceroy, of being a heretick; and that the simple reply, 'Inquire further,' spread dismay among us all, and was one occasion of our visit to Ava. Soon after Mya-day-men assumed the government of this province, all the priests and officers of the village, where Moung Shwa-gnong lives, entered into a conspiracy to destroy him. They held daily consultations, and assumed a tone of triumph; while poor Moung Shwa-gnong's courage began to flag—and, though he does not like to own it, he thought he must flee for his life. At length one of the conspiracy, a member of the supreme court, went into the presence of the viceroy, and, in order to sound his disposition, complained that the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, was making every endeavour to turn the priests' rice pot bottom upwards. *What consequence?*

said the viceroy: *Let the priests turn it back again.* This sentence was enough; the hopes of the conspiracy were blasted; and all the disciples felt that they were sure of toleration under Mya-day-men. But this administration will not probably continue many months.

"21. Lord's day. All the disciples but one, and all the hopeful inquirers, were present at worship; who, together with some others, made up an assembly of about twenty-five adults, all paying respectful and devout attention; the most interesting assembly, all things considered, that I have yet seen. How impossible it seemed, two years ago, that such a precious assembly could ever be raised up out of the Egyptian darkness, the atheistick superstition, of this heathen land. Much encouraged by the general appearance of things this day. Why art thou ever cast down, O, my soul! and why art thou disquieted within me! Hope thou in God—the God of the Burmans, as well as David's God—for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance, revealed in the salvation of thousands of these immortal souls."

The occurrences during several succeeding months, were similar to those which have been stated. The zayat was visited by many individuals, some of whom came to scoff, others to dispute, and a few to inquire the way to Zion. The little church dwelt amidst its enemies, unharmed; owing its safety, however, in part, to the great caution with which the concerns of the mission were conducted. It was not generally known at Rangoon, that any person had renounced the religion of Boodh, and embraced that of Christ.

On the 4th of March, Moung Ing, who was the second convert, but whose absence from Rangoon had prevented his joining the church, was baptized. During his absence, however, he had endeavoured to spread the knowledge of the Saviour, by conversation with his friends.

On the 20th of May, 1821, the Rev. Jonathan D. Price was set apart, as a Missionary to Burmah, in the Sansom-Street Meeting-house, Philadelphia. He had received a medical education, and was to act in the joint character of a Missionary and Physician. A few days after, he, with his wife and child, sailed from Salem, for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 27th of November.

Mr. Judson now employed Moung Shwa-gnong to assist him in a thorough revision of those parts of the New Tes-

tament which had been translated, but not yet printed, viz. the epistle to the Ephesians, and the first part of Acts. These were sent to Serampore, to be printed.

On the 15th of June, Mah Myat-lah was baptized, and added to the little band of believers.

"*July* 14. In the interval of receiving company, I have lately been employed in translating; have finished the Gospel and Epistles of John, those exquisitely sweet and precious portions of the New Testament, and am now employed on the latter part of Acts. I find Moung Shwa-ba a most valuable assistant, in all parts of missionary work. Moung Shwa-gnong also begins 'to be dissatisfied with being a mere disciple, and hopes that he shall some time be thought worthy of being a teacher of the Christian religion.' These two, with Mah Men-la, are, at present, the flower of our little church. I have no reason, however, to complain of the conduct of any, considering the great disadvantages under which they all labour. Some have grown comparatively cold; but none have forgotten their first love. Praise forever be to Him,

> "Who is faithful to his promises,
> "And faithful to his Son."

"*August* 4. Am just recovering from the second fit of sickness which I have had this season. The first was the cholera morbus; the present has been a fever. The second day after I was taken, Mrs. J. was taken with the same; and, for several days, we were unable to help one another. Through divine mercy, however, we contrived to get our medicines from time to time, and are now in a convalescent state, so far as the fever is concerned. Mrs. J., however, is suffering severely under the liver complaint, which, notwithstanding continual salivations, is making such rapid and alarming advances, as to preclude all hope of her recovery, in this part of the world."

The alarming character of Mrs. Judson's disease made it evident, that she must repair to some more propitious climate, to regain her health. It was, at last, resolved, that she should visit America; and on the 21st of August, she embarked for Bengal. The feelings with which she parted from her husband, and from the little church, may be better conceived than described. Her own words are:

"Those only who have been through a variety of toil and privation, to obtain a darling object, can realize how

entirely every fibre of the heart adheres to that object, when secured. Had we encountered no difficulties, and suffered no privations in our attempts to form a church of Christ, under the government of a heathen despot, we should have been warmly attached to the individuals composing it, but should not have felt that tender solicitude and anxious affection, as in the present case.

"Rangoon, from having been the theatre, in which so much of the faithfulness, power and mercy of God had been exhibited—from having been considered, for ten years past, as my home for life—and from a thousand interesting associations of ideas, had become the dearest spot on earth. Hence you will readily imagine that no ordinary consideration could have induced my departure."

The following letter to Dr. Baldwin contains an account of her arrival in Calcutta, and of her arrangements for visiting England:

"*Calcutta, Dec.* 8, 1821.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I left Rangoon last August, and arrived in Calcutta on the 22d of September. My disorder gained ground so rapidly, that nothing but a voyage to sea, and the benefit of a cold climate, presented the least hope of life. You will readily imagine that nothing but the prospect of a final separation, would have induced us to decide on this measure, under circumstances so trying as those in which we were placed. But duty to God, to ourselves, to the Board of Missions, and to the perishing Burmans, compelled us to adopt this course of procedure, though agonizing *to all the natural feelings* of our hearts. On my arrival in Calcutta, inquiries were immediately made, relative to a voyage to America. But, to my great disappointment, I found most of the American captains far from being disposed to take passengers, on account of having their cargoes engaged to the extent of the tonnage of their vessels. One captain, however, offered to give me a passage for fifteen hundred rupees, but I could not think of causing the Board so great an expense. In mentioning my circumstances to Mrs. Thomason, (lady of the Rev. Mr. Thomason, chaplain) she suggested the advantages of a voyage to England, on account of the superior accommodations, medical advice, and female passengers, in English ships. The pious captain of a ship bound to England, was then residing in her fam-

ily; with him she consulted, and they made arrangements for my passage for five hundred rupees, provided I went in a cabin with three children, who were going to England. As my only object in going to sea, is restoration of health, I did not hesitate to secure a passage, though I should have rejoiced (since I must take a long voyage) to have gone direct to America. The father of the children has since arrived in Calcutta, and has very kindly offered to pay the whole price of the cabin, (which is four thousand rupees) which will enable me to go to England, free of expense to the Board.

"If the pain in my side is entirely removed, while on my passage to Europe, I shall return to India in the same ship, and proceed immediately to Rangoon. But if not, I shall go over to America, and spend one winter in my dear native country. As ardently as I long to see my beloved friends in America, I cannot prevail on myself to be any longer from Rangoon than is absolutely necessary for the preservation of my life. I have had a severe struggle relative to my *immediate* return to Rangoon, instead of going to England. But I did not venture to go contrary to the convictions of reason, to the opinion of an eminent and skilful physician, and the repeated injunctions of Mr. Judson.

"Relative to the Rangoon mission, I presume Mr. Judson has given you all the information. But perhaps I have received letters of a later date, and may be able to communicate something, of which you may not have heard. My last from Rangoon was dated October 26. Moung Shwa-gnong had been accused before the viceroy, and had disappeared. Mr. Judson had felt much anxiety and distress on his account, fearing he had done something in the way of retraction, which prevented his visiting him. But in a fortnight, he was agreeably surprised at seeing him enter. Moung Shwa-gnong informed Mr. Judson, that having been accused, he thought it the wisest way to keep out of sight; that he had put all his family on board a boat, and was going up the country among the sect of hereticks with whom he once associated, and had now come to take leave, obtain tracts, gospels, &c. Mr. Judson furnished him with what was necessary, and bid him God speed. He will, no doubt, do much good among that class of people; for it is impossible for him to be any time with his friends, without conversing on the subject of religion. Moung Ing had returned, as steadfast, and as much devot-

ed to the cause as ever. He, and Moung Shwa-ba, spend every evening in reading the Scriptures, and finding the places where the apostles preached, on a map which Mr. Judson has made for them. Another Burman has been baptized, who gives decided evidence of being a true Christian. Have we not, my dear Sir, every reason to trust in God in future, when we see what he has done in Rangoon? Could you see at once the difficulties in the way of the conversion of the Burmans, the grace of God would appear ten times as conspicuous as it now does. When we hardly ventured to hope that we should ever see a truly converted Burman, how great is our joy to see a little church rise up in the midst of that wilderness, consisting of thirteen converted Burmans."

On her passage, she had a severe attack of her complaint, which confined her to her cabin for several days. During her confinement, two young ladies of rank and influence, frequently inquired concerning her health. She occasionally requested them to read to her such selections as she thought might have a salutary effect upon their minds. To these exercises, she added much serious converse; and soon had the happiness of seeing their minds solemnly impressed. Their seriousness continued during the rest of the voyage; but what has been the issue, we have had no means of ascertaining.

Having arrived in England, with health somewhat improved, she was introduced to the excellent Mr. Joseph Butterworth, of the Methodist connexion, and a member of Parliament. He politely urged her to make his house her home; which invitation she accepted with the liveliest emotions.* While in his family, she was favoured with an introduction to many characters distinguished for literature and piety, particularly Wilberforce, Babington, and Somers, the king's chaplain.

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* Mr. Butterworth, at a meeting of the English Baptist Missionary Society, thus gracefully alluded to Mrs. Judson's visit:

After some remarks upon the pleasing success which had attended missionary exertions among all denominations of Christians, he proceeded to mention, that respecting one interesting scene of labour, which had been slightly touched on in the Report, he could add some further particulars which had recently come to his knowledge. He referred to the Burman empire, and his information was derived from Mrs. Judson, whom he had lately the pleasure of receiving under his roof, and whose visit reminded him of the apostolick admonition, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares."

It was thought expedient that Mrs. Judson should visit Cheltenham, for the benefit of its mineral waters. She was recommended by Mr. Butterworth to an eminent physician of that place, and there spent several weeks.

About the same time she received a pressing invitation from friends in Scotland, to visit them, with a kind offer to defray her expenses. Acceding to this proposal, she spent several weeks in that land of Christian hospitality. Here she received a request from the American Baptist Board, to return in the New-York packet. She proceeded to Liverpool for embarkation; but was persuaded to take passage in a much more commodious vessel, by a number of Liverpool ladies, who generously defrayed the expense of her passage.

In August, 1822, she took final leave of her British friends, who had become inexpressibly endeared to her by many valuable presents and innumerable acts of kindness. "Often has she mentioned," says a friend, "with the brightest glow of affection, the high-toned piety of English and Scottish Christians, and the prelibations of heaven which she enjoyed in their society."

The following memorandum has been found among her papers:

"*August* 16. Embarked on board the Amity, for the United States. Mr. and Mrs. Deakin, Miss Hope, Miss Jones and her brother, accompanied me, about fifty miles, and returned in the steam-boat. After the departure of these very dear friends, I felt sad and disconsolate, being quite alone, without any christian friend on board, or any female with whom I can converse. Yet I am not alone. The same kind and glorious Being, who, notwithstanding all my provocations, has hitherto directed my steps, and at times granted me his presence, is still, I trust, with me, and will make my way prosperous. I hope to enjoy much of his presence, during my passage, and spend more time, in the immediate duties of religion, than my late rambling life has admitted. Should I be preserved through the voyage, the next land I tread, will be my own native soil, ever loved America, the land of my birth. I cannot realize that I shall ever again find myself, in my own dear home at Bradford, amid the scenes of my early youth, where every spot is associated with some tender recollection. But the constant idea, that my dear J. is not a participator of my joys, will mar them all."

The following letter from Mr. Judson, to Dr. Baldwin, will show the state of things at Rangoon, up to the time of its date.

"*Rangoon, Feb.* 6, 1822.

" Rev. and dear Sir,

" I have baptized one man only, since I last wrote you; nor are there any others, at present, who are preparing to come forward. The last prosecution of our most distinguished disciple, Moung Shwa-gnong, which took place in September last, and terminated in his being obliged to flee for his life, struck a fatal blow to all religious inquiry. Since that time, I have confined myself almost entirely to translating. About half the New Testament is now finished, and I am desirous of finishing the whole, if possible, before making any further missionary movement. When that work is disposed of, I expect to feel more free to go forth and encounter the hazards, which may attend an open and extensive declaration of the Gospel. I am fully persuaded that the way will soon be opened for the introduction and establishment of true religion in this country. Difficulties may obstruct, delays may intervene, the faith of Missionaries and their supporters may be severely tried; but at the right time, the time marked out from all eternity, the Lord will appear in his glory.

" Brother Price arrived here in December, and brother Hough in January following. I believe it is the desire of us all to live and die among the Burmans."

CHAPTER XIII.

Mrs. Judson's last Visit to America—Mr. Wade joins the Mission—Sail for Calcutta.

Mrs. Judson arrived at New-York, on the 25th of September, 1822. The following letter expresses her feelings on revisiting her native country.

To Mr. Judson's Parents.

"*Philadelphia, Sept.* 27, 1822.

" My dear Parents,

" With mingled sensations of joy and sorrow, I address a few lines to the parents of my beloved husband—joy, that I once more find myself in my own native country, and with the prospect of meeting with loved relatives and

friends—sorrow, that he who has been a participator in all my concerns for the last ten years, is not now at hand to partake with me in the joyful anticipations of meeting those he so much loves. I left Liverpool on the 16th of August, and arrived in New-York harbour day before yesterday. On account of the prevalence of the yellow fever prudence forbade my landing. Accordingly I embarked on board the steam boat for this place, where I arrived a few hours ago. It was my intention to pass a week in Philadelphia, and then go to Providence, and thence to you in Woburn, as it would be on my way to Bradford, where I shall spend the winter. But Dr. Staughton wishes me to go on to Washington, which will detain me in this part of the country a week longer. However, I hope to be with you in a fortnight from this time. My health is much improved since I left England, and I begin to hope that the disorder is entirely eradicated."

Of the various incidents which occurred during this visit to America, the Compiler was encouraged to hope for a particular narrative, by her brother, Dr. Elnathan Judson, whose kind attentions to her during her visit, she frequently mentions in her letters with the warmest gratitude. But the state of his health has prevented that gentleman from performing a service for which he was so well qualified, and which would have been so acceptable to the readers of this work. From the letters of Mrs. Judson, with which we have been favoured, we shall make such extracts as will furnish a general view of her proceedings during her visit.

After a short stay in Philadelphia, she hastened to meet her parents and friends in Bradford. Here, in the bosom of her native home, she had hoped so far to regain her health, as to be enabled to embark again for Burmah, early in the ensuing spring. But the excitement of feeling produced by this visit to the scenes and the friends of her childhood, and the exhaustion of strength, resulting from the necessity of meeting and conversing with numerous visitors, added to the effect of the cold climate of New England, on a constitution so long accustomed to the tropical heat of Burmah, obliged her to leave Bradford, after a stay of six weeks, and spend the winter in Baltimore.

The letters which will now be inserted will fully disclose the real state of her health, her feelings, and her employments. We have thought that they would not only be

interesting, as furnishing a better view of her character, than any remarks of a biographer could impart, but necessary, to correct the erroneous ideas, which may still exist in some minds. There were persons, who, from motives which we shall not attempt to investigate, were busy in misrepresenting Mrs. Judson's character and conduct. It was said, that her health was not seriously impaired, and that she visited the south with a view to excite attention and applause. To such persons, the perusal of these letters, in which she utters her feelings to her friends without reserve, will, it is hoped, minister a rebuke sufficiently severe, to awaken shame and penitence; and to those who may have been unwarily led to form unfavourable opinions respecting Mrs. Judson, we cannot doubt that these letters will afford welcome evidence of her modest and amiable disposition, consistent and exemplary demeanour, ardent piety, and steady, irrepressible devotion to the interests of the mission.

To her Sisters.

"*Baltimore, Dec.* 3, 1822.

" My dear Sisters,

" I have at last arrived at my home for the winter, and though it looks stormy and cold out side, it is warm and comfortable within my chamber, and I am as well as can be expected after such a journey. Surely no person ever had so much reason for thankfulness as I have. Through how many dangers and journeys have I been preserved—how many kind friends meet me wherever I go—and how many mercies attend me! *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name.* But though I am not in Rangoon, I doubt not you will be pleased with a narration of my adventures, so I will write in my usual style.

" I left Dr. Baldwin's on Tuesday morning, in company with Mr. H. We had a pleasant ride to Providence, at which place we arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. I sent my letters to Mr. B. who soon came to the hotel, and urged my going to his house. But as we were to go on board the steam boat the same night, I declined. He then said he would come with his carriage, and conduct me to the steam boat; at the same time saying, he hoped to have a ship ready to sail for India in the spring, and should rejoice to give me and other Missionaries, a passage gratis.

He drove me in his chaise to the boat about ten o'clock at night, where many passengers had embarked. The wind was fair, the sky clear, and we had a most charming passage through the Sound. For the first time since my arrival in America, I slept *all* night, lulled to sleep by the motion of the boat. We reached New-York at four, on Thursday morning. Soon after light, Mr. C. of Boston, came on board, having been apprized of my coming, by letters from his wife. He procured a carriage, and conducted me to the house of Mr. C., a pious, wealthy Baptist. It rained very hard, and as Mr. H. was obliged to go on, Mr. C. of Boston, very kindly offered to accompany me to Philadelphia, on the next day, rather than I should go in the rain. Accordingly, I passed Thursday in New-York. In the evening, one of the most interesting prayer meetings was held, that ever I attended. Many pious, devout Christians were present; seven prayers were offered, and as many addresses. They proposed devoting, individually, a part of every Sabbath morning to pray for the restoration of my health. Friday morning, at six o'clock, we again went on board the steam boat for Philadelphia. It was a most charming day; and so mild, that I found my cloak burthensome. Forty miles was land carriage; but having very pleasant company, I felt not much fatigued. We arrived in Philadelphia at nine o'clock in the evening of the same day. I found the weather so warm, that a fire was unnecessary. So much for reports which say there is no difference in the climates. Sunday morning, brother Elnathan arrived; and on Monday we set off for this city, and arrived Tuesday morning. I am very comfortably situated, and keep in my chamber most of the time."

To Mrs. Chaplin, of Waterville.

"*Baltimore, Dec.* 19, 1822.

"My dear Mrs. Chaplin,

"All your kind favours, dictated, I doubt not, by the sincerest affection, have been received, and demand from me an early communication, with a particular account of my present situation, plans and prospects. I did intend writing you from Boston, but such was the state of my health and engagements with our dear friends in that city, that I was necessitated to defer it till the present time. Relative to my leaving New England for the south, when you shall hear my reasons, you will, I dare say, join with

me in thinking, that duty to myself and Mr. Judson required my proceeding as I have. I had never *fully* counted the cost of a visit to my dear native country and beloved relatives. I did not expect that a scene which I had anticipated *as so joyous*, was destined to give to my health and constitution, a shock which would require months to repair. During my passage over from England, my health was most perfect, not the least symptom of my original disorder remained. But from the day of my arrival, the idea that I was once more on American ground, banished all peace and quiet from my mind, and for the first four days and nights I never closed my eyes to sleep! This circumstance, together with dwelling on my anticipated meeting with my friends, occasioned the most alarming apprehensions. Still, however, I flattered myself, that after my first meeting with my friends was over, I should gradually recover my composure, and hastened my departure for the eastward. I reached my father's in about a fortnight after my arrival in this country—and had not been able to procure a single night's sleep: the scene which ensued brought my feelings to a crisis, nature was quite exhausted, and I began to fear would sink. To be concise, my dear Mrs. Chaplin, my health began to decline in a most alarming manner, and the pain in my side and cough returned. I was kept in a state of constant excitement, by daily meeting with my old friends and acquaintances; and during the whole six weeks of my residence at my father's, I had *not one* quiet night's rest. I felt the cold most severely, and found, as that increased, my cough increased.

"You may not perhaps be aware of the circumstance, that Mr. Judson's only brother is a physician of some considerable skill, under government, and located for the winter in this city. During my stay at Bradford, his letters were most frequent and urgent, relative to my removal to the south, for the purpose of salivating, as the most dangerous consequences would ensue, should I, with my Indian constitution, salivate at the north. I saw that my disorder was rapidly gaining ground—my nervous system had become so much affected, that the very sight of an old dear friend was quite distressing, and I really desired to get away from the sight of every human being, as it had become very painful to talk. Thus situated, there was no hope of my recovery, as my father's house was thronged with visitors from day to day. Painful as it was to think of leaving my

beloved family, I felt convinced, since it was my only object in visiting this country, duty required that every thing should yield to endeavours to regain my health. I knew that retirement, freedom from company and excitement, were as necessary as a milder climate, neither of which could be obtained in Bradford. My sister had made arrangements to accompany me; but meeting in Boston with a pious man going on to Washington, and knowing I should receive the kindest attention when once with my brother, I desired her to return to Bradford to comfort my parents.

"I have been in this city about a fortnight, and am very comfortably situated with my brother at a boarding-house, where I refuse to see company of every description, till my health is re-established. I find the climate mild and delightful—have the best medical attendance in the city, through the influence of my brother—have commenced a course of mercury, which I trust, through the blessing of God, will perfectly restore my health—and find my nervous system so far restored to its usual state, that I am able to study four and five hours every day. This, to me, is an unspeakable comfort, as I hope my time will not be entirely lost in my endeavours to regain my health. While in England, my friends repeatedly urged my writing an account of the Burman Mission, as so little information had hitherto been communicated. On my passage over I made a beginning, in a "Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Butterworth," in whose house I resided during my stay in England. While at Bradford, I was unable to proceed in this work; but since my arrival here, my freedom from interruption has enabled me to go on—and I find much pleasure in the consideration, that I shall be able to give to my friends, not only in England, but America, that information relative to the Burman empire, which my state of health forbids my verbally communicating. My object is, to give an account of the American Baptist Mission to Burmah—its origin, progress and success; consisting principally in a compilation of those letters and documents transmitted to friends in America, interspersed with accounts of the population, manners and customs of the Burmans.

"Thus, my dear Mrs. Chaplin, have I been particular, and I fear tiresome, in my account of myself. But your kindness; your affectionate concern for my welfare, is all the excuse I have to offer. Your kind hint, relative to my being injured by the lavish attention of our dear friends

in this country, has much endeared you to my heart. I am well aware that human applause has a tendency to elate the soul, and render it less anxious about spiritual enjoyments, particularly if the individual is conscious of deserving them. But I must say, my dear Mrs. C. that since my return to this country, I have often been affected to tears, in hearing the undeserved praises of my friends, feeling that I was far, very far, from being what they imagined; and that there are thousands of poor, obscure Christians, whose excellences will never be known in this world, who are a thousand times more deserving of the tender regard of their fellow Christians, than I am. Yet I trust, I am grateful to my heavenly Father for inclining the hearts of his children to look on me with a friendly eye. The retired life I now lead, is much more congenial to my feelings, and much more favourable to religious enjoyment, than when in England and America, where I was kept in a continual bustle of company. Yes, it is in retirement that our languishing graces are revived, our affections raised to God, and our souls refreshed and quickened by the influences of the Holy Spirit. If we would live near the threshold of heaven, and daily take a glance of our promised inheritance, we must avoid, not only worldly, but religious dissipation. Strange as it may seem, I do believe there is something like religious dissipation, in a Christian's being so entirely engrossed in religious company, as to prevent his spiritual enjoyments."

To her Sister.

"*Baltimore, Dec.* 25, 1822.

"My dear Sister Mary,

"Many thanks for the concern you manifest for my spiritual health, as it is to me a convincing evidence that you constantly pray for me. Whatever is my situation, however flattering my prospects of a worldly nature, all is loss and dross unless I feel something of that spiritual peace and comfort which our Lord bequeathed to his disciples. And I know of no means so directly calculated to insure this peace to us, as the fervent and earnest prayers of those who enter heaven, as it were, to lay the case of their friends before their Father. I am in this city much more comfortably situated than you imagine, or I anticipated. I have always found that full employment of time, and much retirement from company of every description, the grand secret for living near to God, and the right per-

formance of duties incumbent on us. In these respects I have not been so comfortably situated since I left Rangoon, as now, excepting on my passage from England to this country. When I first arrived, I requested the servants of the house to say, when any person requested to see me, that 'Mrs. Judson did not see company.' For I felt resolved that my health should be my first consideration.

"Brother E. is absent, engaged in his official duties, nearly all day, so that I have the disposal of my time entirely. I spend about five hours in the day in arranging letters, relative to the Burman Mission; and feel very happy in the consideration, that in my endeavours to regain my health, my time is not all lost—for in this publication Christians will have a more correct view of the little church in Rangoon, when they see from what materials it has been raised, than I could give them by conversing months. In addition to these advantages, I have an assistant copyist, a pious, excellent young lady. I have been here three weeks, but have not been out of the house, and scarcely out of my chamber, since my arrival. I have the best and most experienced medical attendance in the city. The physicians here say I should not have lived through the winter in New-England. They have thought it best to salivate me; and I am now under a course of mercury, and feel my mouth considerably affected. My cough has been very severe, until within two days past, and I trust, in consequence of the mercury, it is beginning to subside. The physicians say there is no doubt but I shall recover by spring; but I desire to leave it with Him, who seeth the end from the beginning, and who doeth all things well. Why am I spared? O may it be to promote the cause of Christ in Burmah, and to be successful in winning souls. May we make it our great business to grow in grace, and to enjoy closet religion. Here is the place for us to prepare for usefulness. I have received several good spiritual letters since I have been here—one from Scotland."

To her Sister.

"*Baltimore, Jan.* 5, 1823.

"My dear Sister,

"I have been spending part of this forenoon in prayer for myself, Mr. Judson, the Burman mission, parents and sisters, &c. and have now concluded to pass the remainder in writing to you.

"I am very comfortably situated, the weather mild, and I think my health improving. Soon after my arrival in

this city, brother called a consultation of physicians, when it was decided that my cough, which had much increased, was in consequence of my liver being affected; and that in order to have it removed, I must be salivated. It is nearly three weeks, since I commenced my old employment of taking mercury. I am now in a state of salivation, my cough is almost entirely removed, the pain in my side has subsided, and I begin to think my recovery is nearly completed. I continue, however, to take mercury, and shall probably be kept in this state for three weeks to come. I have not been out of the house since I arrived and hardly out of my chamber.

"I receive a great many letters, some of which are very spiritual and interesting. The one you forwarded the other day, was from a niece of Mr. Butterworth, a most interesting letter. She says her uncle has put to interest, for my Burman school, £100 sterling, and much more is collected. I find it is the opinion of my London physicians, that I shall *not live* if I return to the east. Friends in England say, 'Mr. Judson must come there.' But I say no—I must make another trial. I still hope to get away in the spring, but not before April or May. I shall go on to the north, as early as the travelling will allow. I long to be among you again, though I believe it is much better for my health to be here."

To her Sister.

"*Baltimore, Feb.* 12, 1823.

"My dear Sister,

"The first moment I am able to hold a pen is in reply to yours, which I received yesterday. It found me in bed, weak and feeble, but its contents rejoiced my heart. If I have ever felt a disposition to complain of my deprivation of health, it has been since I have heard of the reformations at Andover and Boston. O could I have endured the cold of New-England, how rejoiced I should have been to have passed the winter, where my soul would have been refreshed with those spiritual showers. I do indeed long once more to see the power of God displayed in the awakening of sinners and reviving of Christians. But though I am deprived at present of this unspeakable privilege, my soul rejoices to hear that God still remembers his church in mercy, that he still manifests himself a prayer hearing God. How gladly would I set off immediately for Bradford, if I

did not think it presumptuous. For the last month, I have been very feeble,—hardly able to write to any one. I have had two slight attacks of bleeding at the lungs; and in consequence of this, have been reduced very low by bleeding at the arm. I have been bled five times, and think I am now getting better.

"My friends here are very kind. But in all my afflictions, my only consolation has been derived from the consideration, that God my father and my portion reigns, and orders all my changes."

To Mrs. Chaplin, of Waterville.

"*Baltimore, Feb.* 17, 1823.

"My ever dear Mrs. Chaplin,

"Your kind and affectionate letter found me in bed, so weak, that I was obliged to read it at intervals; but it afforded heartfelt consolation. But thanks to our heavenly Father, whose guardian care and love, I have *so largely* experienced, I am now much better, and once more enjoy the prospect of gaining that degree of health, which will allow my return to Burmah; there to pass my remaining days, few or many, in endeavouring to guide immortal souls to that dear Redeemer, whose presence can make joyful a sick chamber, a dying bed. For the last month, I have been *very ill.* The disease seemed to be removed from the liver to the lungs. I have raised blood twice, which the physicians thought proceeded from the lungs, though I am inclined to think to the contrary, and believe it came only from the mouth of some vessel in the throat. I was, however, bled so frequently, and so largely, that my strength was quite reduced. At present, I am free from every unfavourable symptom, but am still weak.

"I am rejoiced to hear that Mr. Boardman has offered himself to supply dear Colman's place. If actuated from motives of love to God, and concern for precious souls, tell him he will never regret the sacrifice, but will find those spiritual consolations, which will more than compensate for every privation. I shall rejoice to afford him every assistance in the acquisition of the language, which my health will allow, though I fear he will not be ready to sail so early as I hope to embark.

"My dear Mrs. Chaplin, this is the third day I have been writing this letter, on account of my weakness. But I am gaining a little every day Yesterday, I had a little fe-

male prayer meeting in my chamber—trust the blessed Saviour was near us. O, it is good to get near to God, to enjoy his presence, and feel, whether in life or death, we are his. *Open your mouth wide, and I will fill it*, is a promise, of which we do not think sufficiently. How much real enjoyment we lose, by not striving more earnestly to partake largely of the influence of the Holy Spirit.

"Let us, my dear sister, so live, that our union to Christ, the vine, may not only be satisfactory to ourselves, but to all around us. On *earth* we *serve* God; in *heaven enjoy him*—is a motto I have long wished to adopt. When in heaven we can do nothing towards saving immortal souls."

To one of her Sisters.

"*Baltimore, Feb.* 25, 1823.

"My dear Sister,

"From the tenor of my last, I know you will all feel anxious to hear from me, consequently I take the earliest opportunity to write you. My health is daily improving; but after being reduced so low as I have been, by bleeding from the arm, I must expect to gain very gradually. My liver complaint seems entirely removed, and were I not so very feeble, would set off for Bradford to-morrow. But I can now ride only an hour at a time, and am much fatigued after that. But God has been kind, unspeakably kind to me, and enabled me to cast all my cares and concerns on him; and I have frequently been led to say, it is good for me to be afflicted. There are some spiritual, heavenly minded Christians in this place, who have often refreshed me by their conversation and prayers. A few days ago, I had a prayer meeting in my chamber, and I trust Christ was one in the midst of us. Dr. Staughton sent me yesterday, Mr. Judson's journal, lately received. God is doing wonders in Rangoon, and building up his little church there. Five more have been baptized, making eighteen in all, and several others seriously inquiring. Three females have lately been baptized, who formerly attended my Wednesday meeting. They have set up, of their own accord, a *female prayer meeting*. Is not this encouraging? Dr. Price had received an order from the emperor to go to Ava, on account of his medical skill; and Mr. Judson was about to accompany him, in order to make another effort for toleration. You will readily imagine *my anxiety* to get back to Rangoon. I yet hope that my health will enable me to

return this spring. O that God would incline the heart of the emperor to favour the introduction of the Christian religion, and protect the little church formed there.

"I do hope to get to Bradford by the last of March. Brother E. will probably travel with me. But I must give up all idea of visiting and talking, on account of the weakness of my lungs. I have received a great many letters this winter, which have been a great consolation in my retired situation.

"I am rejoiced to hear that there is a prospect of more attention to religion at Bradford. God will be inquired of by his children, and in answer to their prayers, will pour out his Holy Spirit."

To one of her Sisters.

"*Washington, March* 27, 1823.

"My dear Sister,

"When I last wrote, I was induced to hope that my health and the travelling would allow my being on my way to Bradford before this. But I am yet the subject of disappointment and trial, and it is undoubtedly for the best that I should be. We came to Washington three weeks ago, and have, during this period, been busily employed in superintending and correcting the proof sheets, of my little history, now in press. It is nearly completed. A little exposure to the cold has returned a slight pain in my side, from which I had been entirely free for two months previous. This makes me cautious and afraid of travelling till the weather is milder in your region. I most ardently long to get home; but even my Baptist friends in New-England advise me not to come till May. I hope, however, to be in Bradford by the last of April, for I have not given up the expectation of sailing for India in May. I am much pleased with Washington—have met with several engaged Christians. We had a very interesting prayer meeting at the College a few days ago, when twenty of the students, who are pious, joined us. I was much gratified in receiving a visit from David Brown, the converted Indian. What cannot religion effect? To see this savage transformed into an interesting and enlightened Christian, teaches us what can be done by the efforts of Christians. O how frequently I think, should I be permitted to return to Burmah again, that in communicating religious truth, I shall depend more on the influences of the Holy Spirit than ever before. Here I believe is the grand mistake of Missionaries, and the

principal reason why they have no more success. They depend on their own exertions, not on the power of God. I think I do sometimes have a little sense of divine things, and at such times long more than ever to return to Rangoon. My only consolation in view of my long, tedious voyage, is, that God is my confidence; and I have his promise, to direct my steps if I commit my ways to him. Hope you continue to enjoy the presence of that Saviour, who condescends to take up his abode with sinful creatures, when they prefer him to the enjoyments of time and sense."

While at Washington, the Baptist General Convention held a session in that city. A committee was appointed to confer with Mrs. Judson, respecting the Burman Mission; and at her suggestion, several important measures were adopted. Her conversation and statements produced, on the members of the Convention, the same effect which had resulted from her intercourse with other individuals since her arrival—a deeper concern in the interests of the mission; a more lively conviction of the duty of the American Baptist Churches to sustain and enlarge it; and a stronger disposition to pray for its prosperity, and to contribute liberally for its support.

About this time, her "History of the Burman Mission" was published, the copyright of which she presented to the Convention. This book has been very useful, in this country and in England, where an edition was published. It was, indeed, a compilation of facts, which had, for the most part, been published before; but it presented them in a brief and well-digested narrative. As a literary effort, it does her credit; and if criticism should suggest amendments, it might be alleged, in the melancholy words of the great English lexicographer, that it was written, "not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academick bowers; but amid inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow."

Mrs. Judson returned to Massachusetts early in the spring of 1823. Her health was but partially restored; and urgent solicitations were employed by her friends, to induce her to remain in this country another year. But her desire to return to Burmah was so strong, that she resisted every persuasion, and prepared to take a second, and, as she was persuaded, a final, farewell of her friends and country. There was, at times, an almost prophetick

foreboding in her mind, as if "coming events cast their shadows before." But she was resolved to return, whatever might be the will of God respecting the mission or herself.

It was a happy circumstance that she was not to go alone. The Board of Missions had appointed Mr. Jonathan Wade, and Mrs. Deborah Wade, of Edinburgh, (N. Y.) as Missionaries to Burmah; and it was resolved that they should accompany Mrs. Judson. The following letter was written by Mrs. Judson to her sister, a few days before her embarkation.

"*Boston, Saturday morning.*

"My dear Sister,

"We arrived in safety at six o'clock on Thursday. We were immediately informed that Mr. and Mrs. Wade would be in town to day, to sail with me. This was animating intelligence, and I felt the hand of God was in it, for he had heard my prayers. Yesterday we went on board the ship, chose my cabin, and agreed with the Captain to take us all for twelve hundred dollars. The accommodations are excellent, clean and airy. It is a most beautiful ship, and the Captain seems disposed to do every thing in his power for our comfort. I am to visit his wife this afternoon. I am now making preparations for my passage. Monday, we have a prayer meeting, and Tuesday we go to Plymouth. I have yet to visit Saugus, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Salem. I am doubting whether I ought to visit Bradford again, or not. My nerves are in such a state that I have to make every possible exertion to keep them quiet. It will only increase my agitation to take a formal leave of my friends and home."

On Lord's day, June 22, they went on board the ship Edward Newton, Captain Bertody. "They were accompanied by a large concourse of Christian friends to the wharf, where fervent prayer, by Rev. Dr. Baldwin, was offered up to Him, who 'holds the winds in his fist, and rules the boisterous deep.' The parting scene was peculiarly tender and affecting to many. As the boat moved from the shore towards the ship, at the particular request of Mrs. Wade, the company united in singing the favourite hymn,

'From whence doth this union arise,' &c.

"The missionary friends manifested much composure, as they receded from the land of their nativity, probably

never more to return. When in the cabin, a hope was expressed to Mrs. Wade, that they might have a safe and prosperous passage. She replied, 'If Jesus is with us, we shall have nothing to fear.

'With Christ in the vessel,
We'll smile at the storm.'"

After a prosperous voyage, they arrived in Calcutta, Oct. 19, and sailed in a few weeks, for Rangoon.

CHAPTER XIV.

Messrs. Judson and Price visit Ava.

We now return to Mr. Judson and his associates, at Rangoon. Our last notice of them, dated February, 1822, stated that Dr. Price and his wife had arrived,* and that Mr. and Mrs. Hough had returned to Rangoon. One of the converts, Moung Thah-lah, died in November, of that dreadful disease, the cholera morbus. The appalling rapidity with which, in less than nineteen hours, it hurried him from a state of perfect health, into eternity, prevented Mr. Judson from being informed of his sickness, till he was insensible. But there is no doubt, that his soul ascended to join the multitude of the just made perfect—the first fruits of the mission in Burmah. Mr. Judson, in his journal, says:

"*March* 12. Have had nothing to notice lately, except the progress of the translation. During a few months past, I have finished Matthew, (a new translation) Mark, and Luke, and this day pass into Romans, the intermediate books being previously done.

"*June* 30. Am just recovering from severe illness. A few weeks ago, was taken with a fever, slight at first, but daily increasing in violence, until the event became very dubious. On recovering from the effects of the fever, and just resuming the translation, I was suddenly seized with the cholera morbus, though that disease is not now prevalent in the place; and several hours of suffering elapsed, before medicine took effect. This, with the quantity of laudanum administered, deprived me of the little remain-

* Mrs. Price died at Rangoon, on the 2d of May, 1822, after a painful illness. Her mind was peaceful and happy in the prospect of death.

ing strength which the fever left me, and I am now scarcely able to hold my pen. It is singular, that last rainy season, I was subject to the same diseases, though in a different order; and I ascribe it to the ascendency which the climate of Rangoon is obtaining over my constitution. If it be the will of God, I feel desirous of living to finish the New Testament in Burman,—a work which must otherwise be suspended for some time."

Several individuals were, at this time, in an encouraging state of mind. On the 21st of July, another female, Mah Doke, was baptized.

Soon after the arrival of Dr. Price, information concerning his medical character was conveyed to the emperor, who immediately ordered that he should visit the capital. Obedience was indispensable, and Mr. Judson resolved to accompany him, with the hope of making some favourable impression on the mind of the monarch. Previously to their departure, he had the pleasure of baptizing four other individuals, Moung Thah-a, May Mee, May Zoo, and Meh Men-oo—the latter a girl, whom Dr. Price had cured of blindness. These individuals gave the best evidence of piety, and of sincere desire to obey the Saviour.

Eighteen persons had now been baptized, as disciples of Christ. The exercises of their minds, which the limits of this work do not allow us to state in detail, prove that the Spirit of God operates in the same manner on the minds of all who are brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, producing penitence for sin, conviction of the utter ruin of the soul, reliance on the righteousness of the Son of God for justification; a peaceful hope, and a desire to obey his commandments, and to enjoy his favour. They prove, also, that the Gospel is every where the power of God unto salvation; and that wherever it is preached, with fidelity and prayerfulness, God honours it as the instrument of converting men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

The success with which the mission had hitherto been attended, must be regarded as very great and encouraging, when we consider the small number of persons to whom the Missionaries had access, restrained as they were by the fear of exciting the hostility of the government. The proportion of those who embraced the Gospel is as great, perhaps, as that of real Christians, in any congregation in this country. Well might the Missionaries, and well may we exclaim, *What hath God wrought?*

On the 28th of August, Mr. Judson and Dr. Price embarked in a boat for Ava. Mr. Judson's journal of this visit is so interesting, that we have been unwilling to omit any part of it:

"After much tedious detention, resulting from our connexion with government, brother Price and myself set out from Rangoon, on the 28th of August, in a boat furnished at the publick expense; and on the 27th of September reached Ava, the present capital, a few miles below Amarapoora. We were immediately introduced to the king, who received brother Price very graciously, and made many inquiries about his medical skill, but took no notice of me, except as interpreter. The Atwenwoon Moung Zah, however, immediately recognized me, made a few inquiries about my welfare, in presence of the king; and after his majesty had withdrawn, conversed a little on religious subjects, and gave me some private encouragement to remain at the capital.

"*Oct.* 1. To-day the king noticed me for the first time, though I have appeared before him nearly every day since our arrival. After making some inquiries, as usual, about brother Price, he added, 'And you, in black, what are you? a medical man too?' 'Not a medical man, but a teacher of religion, your majesty.' He proceeded to make a few inquiries about my religion, and then put the alarming question, whether any had embraced it. I evaded, by saying, 'Not here.' He persisted. 'Are there any in Rangoon?' 'There are a few.' 'Are they foreigners?' I trembled for the consequences of an answer, which might involve the little church in ruin; but the truth must be sacrificed, or the consequences hazarded; and I therefore replied, 'There are some foreigners and some Burmans.' He remained silent a few moments, but presently showed that he was not displeased, by asking a great variety of questions on religion, and geography, and astronomy, some of which were answered in such a satisfactory manner, as to occasion a general expression of approbation in all the court present. After his majesty retired, a than-dau-tsen (a royal secretary) entered into conversation, and allowed me to expatiate on several topicks of the Christian religion, in my usual way. And all this took place in the hearing of the very man, now an Atwenwoon, who, many years ago, caused his uncle to be tortured almost to death, under

the iron mall, for renouncing Boodhism and embracing the Roman Catholick religion! But I knew it not at the time, though, from his age, a slight suspicion of the truth passed across my mind. Thanks to God, for the encouragement of this day! The monarch of the empire has distinctly understood, that some of his subjects have embraced the Christian religion, and his wrath has been restrained. Let us then hope, that, as he becomes more acquainted with the excellence of the religion, he will be more and more willing, that his subjects should embrace it.

"3. Left the boat, and moved into the house ordered to be erected for us by the king. A mere temporary shed, however, it proves to be, scarcely sufficient to screen us from the gaze of the people without, or from the rain above. It is situated near the present palace, and joins the enclosure of Prince M., eldest half brother of the king.

"4. On our return from the palace, whither we go every morning after breakfast, Prince M. sent for me. I had seen him once before, in company with brother Price, whom he called for medical advice. To-day he wished to converse on science and religion. He is a fine young man of twenty-eight, but greatly disfigured by a paralytick affection of the arms and legs. Being cut off from the usual sources of amusement, and having associated a little with the Portuguese padres, who have lived at Ava, he has acquired a strong taste for foreign science. My communications interested him very much, and I found it difficult to get away, until brother Price sent expressly for me to go again to the palace.

"15. For ten days past have been confined with the fever and ague. To-day, just able to go to the palace, and have a little conversation with some of the court officers. Afterwards visited Prince M.

"16. Had a very interesting conversation, in the palace, with two of the Atwenwoons and several officers, on the being of God, and other topicks of the Christian religion. Some of them manifested a spirit of candour and free inquiry, which greatly encouraged me.

"21. Visited the Atwenwoon Moung Z. and had a long conversation on the religion and customs of foreigners, in which I endeavoured to communicate as much as possible of the Gospel. Upon the whole, he appeared to be rather favourably disposed, and on my taking leave, invited me respectfully to visit him occasionally. Thence I proceeded to the palace, but met with nothing noticeable; and thence

to the house of Prince M. with whom I had an hour's uninterrupted conversation. But I am sorry to find that he is rather amused with the information I give him, than disposed to consider it a matter of personal concern. I presented him with a tract, which he received as a favour; and finally I ventured to ask him, whether Burman subjects, who should consider and embrace the Christian religion, would be liable to persecution. He replied, "Not under the reign of my brother. He has a good heart, and wishes all to believe and worship as they please."

"22. Brother Price went to Amarapoora, to meet a gentleman just arrived from Rangoon, who we hope may have letters for us. Made an introductory visit to Prince T. second own brother of the king. He received me with the affability which characterizes his intercourse with foreigners. At night, brother Price returned, with a large parcel of letters and magazines and newspapers from our beloved, far distant, native land—and what was still more interesting to me, eight sheets from Mrs. Judson, on her passage towards England, the first direct intelligence I have received from her, since she left Madras roads. The divine blessing appears to have crowned her efforts, and those of the pious captain of the ship, to the hopeful conversion of several souls, and among others, the ladies of a family of rank, her fellow-passengers. At the last date, April 24th, she was under the line, in the Atlantic, and experienced a slight return of her complaint, after having long indulged the hope that it was completely removed. A single line from Bengal informs me of the death of dear brother Colman, but leaves me ignorant of the particulars. May our bereaved sister be supported under this heaviest of all afflictions; and may the severe loss, which the mission has sustained, be sanctified to us all.

"23. Had some pleasant conversation with Moung Z. in the palace, partly in the hearing of the king. At length his majesty came forward, and honoured me with some personal notice for the second time, inquired much about my country, and authorized me to invite American ships to his dominions, assuring them of protection, and offering every facility for the purposes of trade.

"24. Visited Moung Z. at his house. He treated me with great reserve, and repelled all attempts at conversation. Afterwards called on Prince M. and spent a long time with him and the officers in waiting. The whole tract was read before them, by one of the secretaries. In the afternoon,

went out of town to visit Moung Shwa-thah, former viceroy of Rangoon. During our absence, Prince M. sent to our house to call me, saying that a learned pundit was in attendance, with whom he wished to hear me converse. I mention the circumstance as somewhat indicative of the Prince's mind.

"25. A tedious, unprofitable day—the forenoon spent in the palace to no purpose, and the afternoon, with Prince M. and Prince T. at their houses, without being able to introduce any religious or useful conversation.

"26. While I lay ill with the fever and ague, some days ago, a young man, brother of an officer of Prince M. visited me, and listened to a considerable exposition of Gospel truth. Since then, he has occasionally called, and manifested a desire to hear and know more. This evening, he came to attend our evening worship, and remained conversing till 9 o'clock. I hope that light is dawning on his mind. He desires to know the truth, appears to be, in some degree, sensible of his sins, and has some slight apprehension of the love and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"28. Spent the forenoon with Prince M. He obtained for the first time, (though I have explained it to him many times,) some view of the nature of the atonement, and cried out, 'Good, good.' He then proposed a number of objections, which I removed to his apparent satisfaction. Our subsequent conversation turned, as usual, on points of geography and astronomy. He candidly acknowledged, that he could not resist my arguments in favour of the Copernican system; and that, if he admitted them, he must also admit, that the Boodhist system was overthrown. In the afternoon visited Prince T. A hopeless case.

"29. Made an introductory visit to the great Prince, so called, by way of eminence, being the only brother of the queen, and sustaining the rank of chief Atwenwoon. Have frequently met him at the palace, where he has treated me rather uncourteously; and my reception to-day was such as I had too much reason to expect.

"30. Spent part of the forenoon with Prince M. and his wife, the princess of S. own sister of the king. Gave her a copy of Mrs. Judson's Burman catechism, with which she was much pleased. They both appear to be somewhat attached to me, and say, do not return to Rangoon; but, when your wife arrives, call her to Ava. The king will give you a piece of ground, on which to build a kyoung, (a house appropriated to the residence of sacred

characters.) In the evening, they sent for me again, chiefly on account of an officer of government, to whom they wished to introduce me.

"31. Visited the Atwenwoon Moung K., whom I have frequently met at the palace, who has treated me with distinguished candour. He received me very politely, and laying aside his official dignity, entered into a most spirited dispute, on various points of religion. He pretended to maintain his ground without the shadow of doubt; but I am inclined to think that he has serious doubts. We parted in a friendly manner, and he invited me to visit him occasionally.

"*Nov.* 1. Visited the Tset-kyah-woongyee, at his particular request, with brother Price. He made the usual inquiries, medical and theological, and treated us with marked politeness.

"N. B. The Woongyees, of which there are four, rank next to the members of the royal family, being *publick ministers of state*, and forming the high court of the empire. The Atwenwoons, of which there are six or seven, may be termed *private ministers of state*, forming the privy council of the king. The next in rank to the Woongyees, are Woondouks, *assistants* or deputies of the Woongyees. The subordinate officers, both of the palace and of the high court, are quite innumerable.

"6. Since the last date, have been confined with another return of the fever and ague.

"7. Ventured to call again on the great Prince, and was rather better received, but had no religious conversation.

"11. Visited the than-dau-tsen Moung Tsoo (of Oct. 1st) and spent an hour very agreeably, though unable to introduce religion. He manifests more personal friendship, than any other of my Ava acquaintances.

"N. B. Understood that, according to the publick registers, forty thousand houses have been removed from Amarapoora to Ava, the new capital, and that thirty thousand remain. The Burmans reckon ten persons, great and small, to a house, which gives seven hundred thousand for the whole population of the metropolis of Burmah.

"12. Spent the whole forenoon with Prince M. and his wife. Made a fuller disclosure than ever before, of the nature of the Christian religion, the object of Christians in sending me to this country, my former repulse at court, and

the reason of it, our exposure to persecution in Rangoon, the affair of Moung Shwa-gnong, &c. &c. They entered into my views and feelings with considerable interest; but both said, decidedly, that though the king would not himself persecute any one on account of religion, he would not give any order exempting from persecution, but would leave his subjects, throughout the empire, to the regular administration of the local authorities.

"After giving the Prince a succinct account of my religious experience, I ventured to warn him of his danger, and urge him to make the Christian religion his immediate personal concern. He appeared, for a moment, to feel the force of what I said; but soon replied, "I am yet young, only twenty-eight. I am desirous of studying all the foreign arts and sciences. My mind will then be enlarged, and I shall be capable of judging whether the Christian religion be true or not." "But suppose your highness changes worlds in the mean time." His countenance again fell. "It is true," said he, "I know not when I shall die." I suggested, that it would be well to pray to God for light, which, if obtained, would enable him at once to distinguish between truth and falsehood; and so we parted. O, fountain of Light! shed down one ray into the mind of this amiable Prince, that he may become a patron of thine infant cause, and inherit an eternal crown.

"14. Another interview with Prince M. He seemed at one time almost ready to give up the religion of Gaudama, and listened, with much eagerness and pleasure, to the evidences of the Christian religion. But presently two Burman teachers came in, with whom he immediately joined, and contradicted all I said.

"18. Visited the princess of T. at her particular request. She is the eldest own sister of the king, and therefore, according to the Burman laws, consigned to perpetual celibacy. She had heard of me from her brother-in-law, Prince M. and wished to converse on science and religion. Her chief officer and the mayor of the city were present; and we carried on a desultory conversation, such as necessarily takes place on the first interview. Her highness treated me with uncommon affability and respect, and invited me to call frequently.

"26. Have been confined since the 21st, with a third attack of the fever and ague. To-day, went to the palace, and presented a petition for a certain piece of ground within the walls of the town, "to build a kyoung on." The

king granted it, on condition that the ground should be found unoccupied.

"28. Spent the whole day at the palace, in endeavouring to secure the ground petitioned for. At night, the land measurer general's secretary accompanied me to ascertain the premises, and make out a plan of the place.

"29. The land measurer general reported to the Atwenwoons, that the ground was not actually occupied, but having been the site of a kyoung, when formerly the city was the seat of government, must be considered sacred and unalienable; in which opinion nearly all the Atwenwoons coincided, notwithstanding the king's decision to the contrary.

"Had an interesting interview with Prince M. and presented him with a copy of the three last chapters of Matthew, in compliance with his wish to have an account of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. He appeared concerned for our failure to-day in the privy council, but still maintained, that though the ground was sacred, it might with propriety be given to a priest, though not a priest of Gaudama, and advised me to make another application to the king.

"*Dec.* 25. I have had nothing scarcely of a missionary nature to notice, since the last date, having been employed most of the time (that is, in the intervals of two more attacks of fever and ague) in endeavouring to procure a piece of ground within the city, but have been defeated at every point. At one time, I had received the king's positive order, for the place above-mentioned, and, at considerable expense, passed it through the privy council and the supreme court, as far as the chief Woongyee; but as soon as he saw it, he disputed its propriety—and at the next morning levee, which he summoned me to attend, he civilly told his majesty that the ground was sacred, and ought not to be given away. Three of the Atwenwoons joined him. The king at first remained silent; but at length said, "Well, give him some vacant spot." And thus was the order cancelled. As for the vacant spot, if we are debarred all sacred ground, I believe it will be impossible to find it within the walls either of the inner or the outer city, such is the immense demand for places, occasioned by the perpetual emigration from the old city.

"In prosecuting this business, I had one noticeable interview with the king. Brother Price, and two English gentlemen were present. The king appeared to be attract-

ed by our number, and came towards us; but his conversation was directed chiefly to me. He again inquired about the Burmans who had embraced my religion. "Are they real Burmans? Do they dress like other Burmans?" &c. I had occasion to remark, that I preached every Sunday. "What! in Burman?" Yes. "Let us hear how you preach." I hesitated. An Atwenwoon repeated the order. I began with a form of worship, which first ascribes glory to God, and then declares the commands of the law of the Gospel; after which I stopped. "Go on," said another Atwenwoon. The whole court was profoundly silent. I proceeded with a few sentences declarative of the perfections of God, when his majesty's curiosity was satisfied, and he interrupted me. In the course of subsequent conversation, he asked what I had to say of Gaudama. I replied, that we all knew he was son of king Thog-dau-dah-nah; that we regarded him as a wise man and a great teacher, but did not call him God. "That is right," said Moung K. N. an Atwenwoon who has not hitherto appeared very friendly to me. And he proceeded to relate the substance of a long communication, which I had lately made to him in the privy council room, about God, and Christ, &c. And this he did, in a very clear and satisfactory manner, so that I had scarcely a single correction to make in his statement. Moung Z. encouraged by all this, really began to take the side of God, before his majesty, and said, "Nearly all the world, your majesty, believe in an eternal God; all, except Burmah and Siam, these little spots!" His majesty remained silent; and after some other desultory inquiries, he abruptly arose and retired.

"*Jan.* 2. To-day I informed the king, that it was my intention to return to Rangoon. "Will you proceed thence to your own country?" "Only to Rangoon." His majesty gave an acquiescing nod. The Atwenwoon Moung Z. inquired, "Will you both go, or will the doctor remain?" I said that he would remain. Brother Price made some remark on the approaching hot season, and the inconvenience of our present situation; on which Moung Z. inferring that it was on account of the climate that I was about leaving, turning to me, saying, "Then you will return here, after the hot season." I looked at the king, and said, that if it was convenient, I would return; which his majesty again sanctioned by an acquiescing nod and smile, and in reply to brother Price, said, "Let a place be given him." Brother Price, however, thinks of retaining the small place

on which we now live, for medical purposes, and getting a place at Chagaing, on the opposite side of the river, for his permanent residence.

"In the evening, had a long conversation with Moung Z. on religion. He believes that there is an eternal God, and that Gaudama, and Christ, and Mahomet, and others, are great teachers, who communicated as much truth respectively at they could; but that their communications are not the word of God. I pressed my arguments as far as I dared; but he seemed to have reflected much on the subject, and to have become quite settled and inflexible in his conclusions. He may be called a Deistic Boodhist, the first that I have met in the country. On parting, however, he remarked, "This is a deep and difficult subject. Do you, teacher, consider further, and I also will consider.'

"7. Among the many places which I endeavoured in vain to procure, was a small one, (sufficient for one family only,) pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, just without the walls of the town, and about a mile from the palace. But it had been appropriated by the chief Woongyee, and partly fenced in, with the intention of building a temporary zayat for his recreation and refreshment, when accompanying the king in that quarter of the city, and was, therefore, placed beyond any reasonable hope of attainment. Among other desperate attempts, however, I wrote a short petition, asking for that place, and begging leave to express my gratitude by presenting a certain sum of money. It was necessary to put this into his own hand; and I was, therefore, obliged to follow him about, and watch his movements, for two or three days, until a favourable opportunity occurred, when he was apart from all his retinue. I seized the moment, presented myself before him, and held up the paper. He read it, and smiled.—'You are indefatigable in your search after a place. But you cannot have that. It is for my own use. Nor, if otherwise, could you get it for money. Search further.'

"I now concluded to return to Rangoon for the present, and wait until the town should be settled, when, as all inform me, I shall be able to accommodate myself better. I accordingly informed the king of my purpose, as mentioned above, and began to look about for a boat. In the mean time, it occurred to me, to make a 'seventh attempt to fix the thread,' and I sought another opportunity with the chief Woongyee, a being who is really more difficult of access than the king himself. This evening I was

so fortunate as to find him at his house, lying down, surrounded by forty or fifty of his people. I pressed forward into the foremost rank, and placed myself in a proper attitude. After a while, his eye fell upon me, and I held up a small bottle of eau de luce, and desired to present it. One of his officers carried it to him. He happened to be much pleased with it, and sat upright.—'What kind of a house do you intend to build?' I told him, but added, 'I have no place to build on, my lord.' He remained in a meditating attitude a few moments, and then suddenly replied, '*If you want the little enclosure, take it.*' I expressed my gratitude. He began to take more notice of me—inquired about my character and profession—and then entered, with considerable spirit, on the subject of religion. After some conversation, he desired a specimen of my mode of worship and preaching; and I was obliged to repeat much more than I did before the king; for whenever I desisted, he ordered me to go on. When his curiosity was satisfied, he lay down, and I quietly retired.

"8. After taking the best advice, Burman and foreign, I weighed out the sum of money mentioned in the private petition, together with the estimate expense of fencing the place given me by the Woongyee, and in the evening carried it to his house, where I was again fortunate in finding him in the same position as yesterday evening. A few noblemen and their attendants were present, which prevented me from immediately producing the money. His excellency soon took notice of me, and from seven o'clock till nine, the time was chiefly occupied in conversation on religious subjects. I found opportunity to bring forward some of my favourite arguments, one of which, in particular, seemed to carry conviction to the minds of all present; and extorted from the great man, an expression of praise—such praise, however, as is indicative of surprise, rather than approbation. When the company retired, my people at the outer door overheard one say to another, 'Is it not pleasant to hear this foreign teacher converse on religion?' 'Aye,' said the other, 'but his doctrines are derogatory to the honour of lord Gaudama.' When they were gone, I presented the money, saying that I wished to defray the expense of fencing the ground, which had been graciously given me. His excellency was pleased with the offer, but gently declined accepting any thing. He then looked steadily at me, as if to penetrate into the motives of my conduct; and recollecting the ma-

nouvres of the first English settlers in Bengal, thought he had discovered something—'Understand, teacher, that we do not give you the entire owning of this ground. We take no recompense, *lest it become American territory.* We give it to you for your present residence only; and when you go away, shall take it again.' 'When I go away, my lord, those at whose expense the house is to be built, will desire to place another teacher in my stead.' 'Very well; let him also occupy the place; but when he dies, or when there is no teacher, we will take it.' 'In that case, my lord, take it.'

"10. Spent the whole of yesterday and to-day, with various secretaries and officers of government, in getting actual possession of the ground given me.

"13. Built a small house, and stationed one of the disciples and family, to keep the place during my absence.

"18. Removed to Chagaing, into a house which Prince M. has allowed brother Price to build on his ground, in expectation that a change of air and residence would relieve me from the fever and ague, under which I suffer nearly every other day. It is my intention, however, to return immediately to Rangoon, the time being nearly expired, which I at first proposed to spend in Ava, and the ends for which I came up being sufficiently gained.

"22. Took leave of Prince M. He desired me to return soon, and bring with me all the Christian Scriptures, and translate them into Burman; 'for,' said he, 'I wish to read them all.'

"24. Went to take leave of the king, in company with Mr. L. collector of the port of Rangoon, who arrived last evening. We sat a few moments conversing together. 'What are you talking about?' said his majesty. 'He is speaking of his return to Rangoon,' replied Mr. L. 'What does he return for? Let him not return. Let them both, (that is, brother Price and myself,) stay together. If one goes away, the other must remain alone, and will be unhappy.' 'He wishes to go for a short time only,' replied Mr. L. 'to bring his wife, the female teacher, and his goods, not having brought any thing with him this time; and he will return soon.' His majesty looked at me, 'Will you then come again?' I replied in the affirmative. 'When you come again, is it your intention to remain permanently, or will you go back and forth, as foreigners commonly do?' 'When I come again, it is my intention to remain perma-

nently.' 'Very well,' said his majesty, and withdrew into his inner apartment.

"Heard to-day of the death of Mah Myat-la, sister of Mah Men-la, one of the most steadfast of the church in Rangoon.

"25. Embarked on a small boat, intending to go day and night, and touch no where, in order to avoid the robbers, of which we have lately had alarming accounts.

"*Feb.* 2. Lord's day. At one o'clock in the morning, reached Rangoon, seven days from Ava.

"Several of the disciples soon came over from Dahlah, on the opposite side of the river, whither they and some others of the disciples and inquirers have taken refuge, to escape the heavy taxations and the illegal harassments of every kind, allowed under the new viceroy of Rangoon. Others of the disciples have fled elsewhere, so that there is not a single one remaining in Rangoon, except three or four with us. The house of some of the disciples has been demolished, and their place taken by government, at the instigation of their neighbours, who hate them on account of religion. Mah Myat-la died before the removal. Her sister gave me the particulars of her death. Some of her last expressions were—'I put my trust in Jesus Christ —I love to pray to him—am not afraid of death—shall soon be with Christ in heaven.'"

During more than two years after this period, no regular journal was kept by either of the Missionaries; and our narrative of the very important events which occurred in this interval, must be gathered from letters written to various individuals in this country.

The following letter from Mr. Judson to Rev. Mr. Sharp, of Boston, exhibits the state of the mission, during several months after his return to Rangoon:

"*Rangoon, August* 5, 1823.

"Rev. and dear Brother,

"It is with real satisfaction, that I am able to inform you of the completion of the New Testament in Burman, about six weeks ago; since which I have added, by way of introduction, an Epitome of the Old Testament, in twelve sections, consisting of a summary of Scripture history from the creation to the coming of Christ, and an abstract of the most important prophecies of the Messiah and his kingdom, from the Psalms, Isaiah, and other prophets. I

trust this work will be found as valuable, as any part of the preceding; for though not, strictly speaking, the word of God, it is compiled almost entirely in the words of Scripture, is received by the converts with great eagerness, and found to be peculiarly interesting and instructive; and forms, moreover, a sort of text-book, from which I am able to communicate much information on the history, types and prophecies of the Old Testament, in a systematick manner.

"I have heard but little from Ava, since I left. Prince M. sometimes inquires for me, and wishes to hear more about the Christian religion. Brother Price is building a small brick house on the opposite side of the river, the king having given him bricks. I expect to remove as soon as Mrs. Judson returns, from whom I have not, however, received a word of intelligence for nearly ten months. Brother Hough has not yet been able to get types from Bengal; no printing, therefore, has been done since his return.

"I hope it will not be long before the Gospel and Epistles of John are printed. They have been ready for the press above a year, and have been so thoroughly and repeatedly revised, that I flatter myself that subsequent translators will not find it necessary to make many alterations. Indeed, all the Gospels and the Acts are in a tolerable state; the Epistles are still deficient. But I never read a chapter without a pencil in hand, and Griesbach and Parkhurst at my elbow; and it will be an object with me through life, to bring the translation into such a state, that it may be a standard work."

CHAPTER XV.

Return of Mrs. Judson—War with the British.

On the 5th of December, 1823, Mrs. Judson, with Mr. and Mrs. Wade, arrived at Rangoon. Mr. Judson, in a letter to Rev. Dr. Baldwin, thus announced this joyful event:

"*Rangoon, Dec.* 7, 1823.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"I had the inexpressible happiness of welcoming Mrs. Judson once more to the shores of Burmah, on the 5th inst. We are now on the eve of departure for Ava.

"My last letter from brother Price mentions that the king has inquired many times about my delay, and the queen has expressed a strong desire to see Mrs. Judson, in her foreign dress. We sincerely hope, that her majesty's curiosity will not be confined to dress.

"Mr. and Mrs. Wade appear in fine health and spirits, and I am heartily rejoiced at their arrival, just at the present time.

"I enclose the translation of a letter from Moung Shwa-ba, which has been lying by me some time, for want of a good opportunity of conveyance."

Translation of a letter, written by Moung Shwa-ba, to Rev. Dr. Baldwin, and translated from the Burman original, Sept. 23, 1823.

"Moung Shwa-ba, an inhabitant of Rangoon, a town of Burmah, one who adheres to the religion of Christ, and has been baptized, who meditates on the immeasurable, incalculable nature of the divine splendour and glory of the Invisible, even the Lord Jesus Christ and God the Father, and takes refuge in the wisdom and power and glory of God, affectionately addresses the great teacher Baldwin, a superintendent of missionary affairs in the city of Boston, of America.

"Beloved elder Brother,

"Though in the present state, the places of our residence are very far apart, and we have never met, yet by means of letters, and of the words of teacher Judson, who has told me of you, I love you, and wish to send you this letter. When the time arrives in which we shall wholly put on Christ—him, in loving whom we cannot tire, and in praising whom we can find no end, and shall be adorned with those ornaments, which the Lord will dispense to us out of the heavenly treasure house, that he has prepared, then we shall love one another more perfectly than we do now.

"Formerly, I was in the habit of concealing my sins, that they might not appear; but now I am convinced, that I cannot conceal my sins from the Lord who sees and knows all things; and that I cannot atone for them, nor obtain atonement from my former objects of worship. And accordingly, I count myself to have lost all, under the elements of the world, and through the grace of the faith of Christ only, to have gained the spiritual graces and rewards pertaining to eternity, which cannot be lost. Therefore, I have no ground for boasting, pride, passion and self exalta-

tion. And without desiring the praise of men, or seeking my own will, I wish to do the will of God the Father. The members of the body, dead in trespasses and sins, displeasing to God, I desire to make instruments of righteousness, not following the will of the flesh. Worldly desire and heavenly desire being contrary, the one to the other, and the desire of visible things counteracting the desire of invisible things, I am as a dead man. However, He quickens the dead. He awakens those that sleep. He lifts up those that fall. He opens blind eyes. He perforates deaf ears. He lights a lamp in the great house of darkness. He relieves the wretched. He feeds the hungry. The words of such a benefactor, if we reject, we must die forever, and come to everlasting destruction. Which circumstance considering, and meditating also on sickness, old age, and death, incident to the present state of mutability, I kneel and prostrate myself, and pray before God, the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, who has made an atonement for our sins, that he may have mercy on me and pardon my sins, and make me holy, and give me a repenting, believing, and loving mind.

"Formerly, I trusted in my own merits; but now, through the preaching and instruction of teacher Yoodthan, I trust in the merit of the Lord Jesus Christ. The teacher, therefore, is the tree; we are the blossoms and fruit. He has laboured to partake of the fruit, and now the tree begins to bear. The bread of life he has given, and we eat. The water from the brook which flows from the top of mount Calvary, for the cleansing of all filth, he has brought, and made us bathe and drink. The bread of which we eat, will yet foment and rise. The water which we drink and bathe in, is the water of an unfailing spring; and many will yet drink and bathe therein. Then all things will be regenerated and changed. Now we are strangers and pilgrims; and it is my desire, without adhering to the things of this world, but longing for my native abode, to consider and inquire, how long I must labour here; to whom I ought to show the light which I have obtained; when I ought to put it up, and when disclose it.

"The inhabitants of this country of Burmah, being in the evil practice of forbidden lust, erroneous worship, and false speech, deride the religion of Christ. However, that we may bear patiently derision, and persecution, and death, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, pray for us.

I do thus pray. For, elder brother, I have to bear the threatening of my own brother, and my brother-in-law, who say, 'We will beat, and bruise, and pound you; we will bring you into great difficulty: you associate with false people; you keep a false religion; and you speak false words.' However, their false religion is the religion of death. The doctrine of the cross is the religion of life, of love, of faith. I am a servant of faith. Formerly I was a servant of Satan. Now I am a servant of Christ. And a good servant cannot but follow his master. Moreover, the divine promises must be accomplished.

"In this country of Burmah are many strayed sheep. Teacher Judson, pitying them, has come to gather them together, and to feed them in love. Some will not listen, but run away. Some do listen and adhere to him: and that our numbers may increase, we meet together, and pray to the great Proprietor of the sheep.

"Thus I, MOUNG SHWA-BA, a disciple of teacher Judson, in Rangoon, write, and send this letter to the great teacher BALDWIN, who lives in Boston, America."

Mr. Wade, in a letter to Dr. Staughton, then the Corresponding Secretary, gives some account of the passage from America:

"Rev. and very dear Sir,

"Guided and directed by the kind providence of God, we have reached in safety the place of our destination. His goodness and mercy have constantly attended us since we left America. May it provoke our gratitude and incite us to new obedience.

"During the voyage from Boston to Calcutta, after having recovered from sea sickness, I applied myself to the study of the Burman language under the instructions of Mrs. Judson. The Captain allowed us to have worship on deck every Sabbath, and expressed not only a willingness, but some anxiety, that I should take frequent opportunities to converse with the sailors on the important concerns of their souls. They gave good attention to instruction, though without any very apparent religious feeling. Most of them were Roman Catholics. The Captain was well convinced of the utility and consequent importance of having worship among the sailors on the Lord's day.

"We arrived in Calcutta on the 19th of October, and, in about two weeks after, found a ship that was to sail for Rangoon in a few days. We were informed that there was

a great prospect of a war between the English and Burmans, On this account, we were urgently advised by all the friends in Serampore and Calcutta not to venture ourselves in Rangoon. This advice was enforced by an account of the real state of things, kindly afforded for the purpose, by the chief secretary of the government of Bengal. Notwithstanding, we felt it our duty, if an opportunity offered, to venture, trusting in the great Arbiter of life and death for protection. Consequently we engaged a passage in the above mentioned ship, and sailed on the 15th of November, and arrived in Rangoon on the 5th of December. I trust we all felt some emotions of gratitude to the great Father of all our mercies, when we entered this great empire of darkness; where, having been wanderers for seven months, we found a place that we could call our own, which, though in a barbarous land, far from friends, is desirable, because we have some assurance that it is the place of residence designated for us by God himself—and

> "Heaven itself, without my God,
> Would be no joy to me."

"The prospect of war has been daily increasing ever since we arrived. We cannot predict the final issue; but we pray that it may be for the advancement of the object of this Mission."

Mr. and Mrs. Judson, immediately after her arrival, left Rangoon for Ava, leaving Mr. and Mrs. Wade, with Mr. Hough and family, at Rangoon.

The following letter of Mrs. Judson to her parents, contains a brief account of the passage, and of the state of things at Ava. It is the last letter that she wrote, before the occurrence of those dreadful events, which, for nearly two years, subjected the Missionaries to sufferings and dangers, which have had few parallels in the history of missions.

"*Ava, Feb.* 10, 1824.

"My dear Parents and Sisters,

"After two years and a half wandering, you will be pleased to hear that I have at last arrived at home, so far as this life is concerned, and am once more quietly and happily settled with Mr. Judson. When I retrace the scenes through which I have passed, the immense space I have traversed, and the various dangers, seen and unseen,

from which I have been preserved, my heart is filled with gratitude and praise to that Being, who has at all times been my protector, and marked out all the way before me. Surely no one was ever more highly favoured, no being was ever under greater obligations to make sacrifices for the promotion of God's glory, than I am at this moment. And I think I feel, more than ever, the importance of being spiritual and humble, and so to cherish the influences of the Holy Spirit, that in the communication of divine truth, powerful impressions may be made, and that I may no more wander from Him, who is deserving of all my services and affections.

"I wrote from Rangoon, but for fear my letters should not have arrived, I will mention a few things therein contained. We had a quick and pleasant passage from Calcutta to Rangoon. Mr. J.'s boat was all in readiness, my baggage was immediately taken from the ship to the boat, and in seven days from my arrival, we were on our way to the capital. Our boat was small and inconvenient; but the current at this season is so very strong, and the wind always against us, that our progress was slow indeed. The season however was cool and delightful; we were preserved from dangers by day and robbers by night, and arrived in safety in six weeks. The A-rah-wah-tee (Irrawaddy) is a noble river; its banks every where covered with immortal beings, destined to the same eternity as ourselves. We often walked through the villages; and though we never received the least insult, always attracted universal attention. A foreign female was a sight never before beheld, and all were anxious that their friends and relatives should have a view. Crowds followed us through the villages, and some who were less civilized than others, would run some way before us, in order to have a *long* look as we approached them. In one instance, the boat being some time in doubling a point we had walked over, we seated ourselves down, when the villagers as usual assembled, and Mr. Judson introduced the subject of religion. Several old men who were present, entered into conversation, while the multitude was all attention. The apparent school-master of the village coming up, Mr. Judson handed him a tract, and requested him to read. After proceeding some way, he remarked to the assembly, that such a writing was worthy of being copied, and asked Mr. Judson to remain while he copied it. Mr. Judson informed him he might keep the tract, on condition he read it to all his neighbours.

We could not but hope the Spirit of God would bless those few simple truths, to the salvation of some of their souls.

"Our boat was near being upset in passing through one of the rapids, with which this river abounds. The rudder became entangled in the rocks, which brought the boat across the stream, and laid her on one side. The steersman, however, had presence of mind sufficient to cut the rudder from the boat, which caused her to right, without experiencing any other inconvenience than a thorough fright, and the loss of our breakfast, which was precipitated from the fireplace into the water, together with every thing on the outside of the boat.

"On our arrival at Ava, we had more difficulties to encounter, and such as we had never before experienced. We had no home, no house to shelter us from the burning sun by day, and the cold dews at night. Dr. Price had kindly met us on the way, and urged our taking up our residence with him; but his house was in such an unfinished state, and the walls so damp, (of brick, and just built) that spending two or three hours threw me into a fever, and induced me to feel that it would be presumption to remain longer. We had but one alternative, to remain in the boat till we could build a small house on the spot of ground which the king gave Mr. Judson last year. And you will hardly believe it possible, for I almost doubt my senses, that in just a fortnight from our arrival, we moved into a house built in that time, and which is sufficiently large to make us comfortable. It is in a most delightful situation, out of the dust of the town, and on the bank of the river. The spot of ground given by his majesty is small, being only 120 feet long, and 75 wide; but it is our own, and is the most healthy situation I have seen. Our house is raised four feet from the ground, and consists of three small rooms and a verandah.

"I hardly know how we shall bear the hot season, which is just commencing, as our house is built of boards, and before night, is heated like an oven. Nothing but brick is a shelter from the heat of Ava, where the thermometer, even in the shade, frequently rises to a hundred and eight degrees. We have worship every evening in Burman, when a number of the natives assemble; and every Sabbath Mr. Judson preaches the other side of the river, in Dr. Price's house. We feel it an inestimable privilege, that amid all our discouragements we have the language, and are able constantly to communicate truths which can save the soul.

"My female school has already commenced, with three little girls, who are learning to read, sew, &c. Two of them are sisters, and we have named them, Mary and Abby Hasseltine. One of them is to be supported with the money which the "Judson Association of Bradford Academy," have engaged to collect. They are fine children, and improve as rapidly as any children in the world. Their mother is deranged, and their father gave them to me to educate, so that I have been at no expense for them, excepting their food and clothes. I have already begun to make inquiries for children, and doubt not we shall be directed in regard to our school.

"I have not yet been at the palace, the royal family all being absent. They returned to Amarapoora a day or two after our arrival, where they will remain till the new palace in this city is finished, when they will take possession in usual form, and Ava in future will be their residence. My old friend, the lady of the Viceroy of Rangoon, who died in my absence, came to the boat to see me immediately on being informed of my arrival. All her power and distinction ceased at the death of her husband, and she is now only a private woman. She is, however, a very sensible woman, and there is much more hope of her attending to the subject of religion now, than when in publick life. I intend to visit her frequently, and make it an object to fix her attention to the subject. In consequence of war with the Bengal government, foreigners are not so much esteemed at court as formerly. I know not what effect this war will have on our mission; but we must leave the event with Him who has hitherto directed us."

Rumours of approaching war with the Bengal government had, for some time, disturbed the publick mind. It has been well ascertained, that the Burman emperor cherished the ambitious design of invading Bengal. He had collected in Arracan, an army of 30,000 men, under the command of his most successful General, Maha Bandoola. It is said, that the army was furnished with a pair of golden fetters, destined to the honourable service of being worn by the Governor General of India, when he should be led as a captive to the *golden feet*, at Ava.*

The Bengal government, however, resolved to anticipate the blow, by a sudden irruption into the Burman empire.

* Snodgrass' Burmese War, p. 277.

The encroachments of the Burmese government on the Company's possessions had been long a subject of complaint; and all attempts to obtain redress had been met by neglect, and at last, by preparations for invasion on the part of the Burmese.

In May, 1824, an army of about six thousand English and native troops, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, arrived at Rangoon. So entirely unexpected was this attack, that no resistance was made, except a few shots from the fortifications along the river.

The following letter from Mr. Wade to Mr. Lawson, of Calcutta, relates the wonderful escape of the Missionaries from the fate which seemed, for several hours, to be impending over them. Truly, the Lord is a present help in trouble. He interposed on this occasion, while the heathen raged, and suffered them to do his prophets no harm.

"*Rangoon, May* 15, 1824.

"Dear Brother Lawson,

"You would not think it strange if, by this time, we should express some regret for our imprudence in having left Bengal, contrary to the advice of our friends. If we had remained in Calcutta, or Serampore, we should doubtless have been exempt from the inexpressible sufferings of body and mind, which we experienced during a part of the present week. But since God has graciously preserved our lives, and restored to us rest and quietness, for reasons which may easily be conceived by a Christian, we rejoice that we have been afflicted.

"We did not apprehend, until last Monday, that war was declared against the Burmans. The most credible information which we could obtain, assured us, that all grievances were amicably settled. But on Monday last, information came, that a number of ships were at the mouth of the river. Government immediately ordered every person in Rangoon who wears a hat to be taken prisoner, which was accordingly done. In the course of the succeeding night, Mr. H. and myself were chained, and put into close confinement, under armed keepers. In the morning the fleet was in sight of the town, and our keepers were ordered to massacre us the moment the first shot was fired upon the town. But when the firing commenced, our murderers were so effectually panick struck, that they all slunk away into one corner of the prison, speechless, and almost breathless. The next shot made our prison tremble

and shake, as if it would be immediately down upon our heads. Our keepers now made for the prison door: we used every exertion to persuade them to remain, but all to no purpose; they broke open the door and fled. In a few moments after, the firing ceased; and we expected the troops were landing, and that we should be soon released; when, horrible to relate, about fifty Burmans rushed into the prison, drew us out, stripped us of every thing but pantaloons; our naked arms were drawn behind us, and corded as tight as the strength of one man would permit; and we were almost literally carried through the streets upon the points of their spears, to the seat of judgment, and were made to sit upon our knees, with our bodies bending forward, for the convenience of the executioner, who was ordered that moment to behead us. None of us understood the order but Mr. Hough. He requested the executioner to desist a moment, and petitioned the Yahwoon to send him on board the frigate, and promised to use his influence to prevent any further firing upon the town. The linguists seconded the proposal, and pleaded that we might be reprieved for a few moments.

"The Yahwoon answered, If the English fire again, there shall be no reprieve: and asked Mr. Hough if he would positively promise to put an immediate stop to the firing, which you will recollect had been discontinued, from the time that our keepers in prison fled. At this moment, several shots were sent very near us: the government people fled from the seat of judgment, and took refuge under the banks of a neighbouring *tank*. All the others fled from the town, but kept us before them: we were obliged to make our way as fast as possible, for the madness and terror of our attendants allowed us no compliments.

"We were soon overtaken by the government people, fleeing upon horseback.

"About a mile and a half from the town they halted, and we were again placed before them. Mr. Hough and the linguists renewed their petition. After a few moments conversation, his irons were taken off, and he was sent on board the frigate, with the most awful threatenings to himself and us, if he did not succeed.

"The remainder of us were obliged again to resume our march. Finally, a part of us were confined in a strong building, at the foot of the golden pagoda. I, with two others, was taken into the pagoda, and confined in a

strong building, and left under the care of a door-keeper. After dark this fellow, by the promise of a present, was induced to remove us into a kind of vault, which had but a small aperture, and was without windows: it afforded only sufficient air for the purpose of respiration. The fellow himself, I believe, ran away. We were several times alarmed during the night.

"The next morning early, we were searched for by our blood-thirsty enemies, who, upon finding we were not in the room where they left us, concluded that we had escaped and fled. We expected every moment we should be discovered, when to our great relief, we heard them cry out, 'The English are coming!' and they fled. We waited, however, in vain, to hear some sound which would assure us that it would be safe to cry out for assistance; for we soon found we were again surrounded with Burmans.

"About noon, the English troops came up, and to our inexpressible joy, relieved us from our unpleasant situation. As soon as I could be disengaged from my galling chains, I hastened to the mission-house, to learn the fate of Mrs. Wade and Hough. I found them safe and well; but though not imprisoned, they had experienced great sufferings, and escaped great dangers. Mr. Hough I also found safe at the mission-house. When we met and heard the relation of each other's dangers and escapes, we felt constrained to join in the most hearty acknowledgments of gratitude to God, by whose divine interposition our lives had been preserved.

"I have too little room to think of entering upon our feelings, when we viewed ourselves as in one moment more, to launch into eternity. Suffice it to say, I felt an assurance in the grace of God, which disarmed death of its terror. The hope of the Gospel seemed to me a treasure, whose value was beyond all computation. Finally, I trust the dangers and sufferings of the past week, have yielded me a rich spiritual harvest.

"All who had been taken prisoners, and ordered to be executed by the Burmans, were on Wednesday regained, and set at liberty by the English troops. All the Burmans have fled to the jungles, and have built several stockades in different directions from the town, some of which have already been taken and burned by the English troops.

"The Yahwoon orders every person to be put to death who betrays the least desire to return to Rangoon. Numbers of Siamese, Persees, Portuguese, Musselmans, and

even Burmans, have been found in the jungles, who have been murdered by the Burmans themselves.

"Monday, 17th. The army has penetrated the country for several miles around us. The result of every engagement, as yet, has been in favour of the English. May God prosper their arms.

"You will be able to obtain a full account of the state of affairs in this place, from the publick papers, else I should be more minute in my communications. I hope you will therefore excuse me.

"It is between two and three months since we have received any letter from Mr. Judson, or Doctor Price. It is impossible to predict their fate. We tremble whenever we think of them. We can only pray that God, who has delivered us out of the hands of our cruel enemies, may deliver them also."

Letter from Mr. Hough to Dr. Staughton.

"*Rangoon, June* 6, 1824.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"We are now amid the noise and bustle of war, and are surrounded, on all sides, by an army of ten thousand British troops, a greater part of which came up the river, and attacked the town on the 11th ult. The town was completely evacuated when the British landed, by the Burmans, who all fled into the interior of the country. Many skirmishes have taken place since, and we are now, from the forces which the Burman chiefs are collecting, expecting, probably within sight and hearing, a bloody and destructive battle. The Burmans have exercised many cruelties, both on one another, and on a few prisoners who have unhappily fallen into their hands. This presents no inducement to the English to spare their lives. The war, according to every present appearance, must continue for some time to come. Every Burman Christian, excepting Moung Shwaba, has fled, and all missionary work, excepting the study of the language, has ceased.

"We have not heard from brothers Judson and Price for a long time. Now all communication is cut off. We cannot but feel many anxieties on their account. The mission property here has sustained no injury; and, unless the Burmans make a sudden irruption, will, I trust, under God, remain undisturbed. Should we, however, fall into the hands of the Burmans, in their present state of feeling, we have no human probability on which to hope for safety."

Messrs. Hough and Wade, with their wives, soon after returned to Bengal, their stay in Rangoon being attended with danger, while they had no opportunity of effecting any thing for the mission. Mr. and Mrs. Wade here continued the study of the language; and Mr. W. employed himself in printing the Burman Dictionary, which had been compiled by Mr. Judson—a work of great value to future Missionaries.

The situation of the Missionaries at Ava now became a subject of intense anxiety to all the friends of the mission. There was too much reason to fear that they had fallen victims to the hasty resentment of a vindictive and haughty government. The English troops were uniformly victorious. Army after army of Burmans was defeated; and the English were on the advance towards the capital. These events were likely to incense the Burman government, and to induce them to treat with the utmost severity all foreigners.

For nearly two years the cloud which concealed their fate hung dark and portentous. That suspense, which is as dreadful as the most awful certainty, agitated the minds of their relatives, and of all the friends of missions, with alternate hopes and fears. Those who cherished the belief that the Missionaries were alive, relied only on the protection of that God, who had so signally protected this mission, and who, by an interposition almost as visibly miraculous as that which rescued Peter from his enemies, had recently preserved the Missionaries at Rangoon from instant and apparently inevitable death. It was, moreover, nearly certain, that if the Missionaries were living, they were subjected to imprisonment, and to dreadful sufferings, both corporeal and mental.

These considerations produced a deep anxiety in the publick mind, which has seldom been witnessed, and which, it is believed, drew from many hearts continual and importunate prayer to God, that he would hear the sigh of the prisoners, and protect his servants from the rage of the heathen, and from the perils of war.

At length this painful suspense was terminated by the joyful news, that the Missionaries were alive, and were safe in the English camp. The British troops, after an almost uninterrupted series of successful combats, had penetrated to Yandaboo, about forty miles from the capital. The Burmese government had hitherto haughtily refused to com-

ply with the terms proposed by the British commander. But the near approach of the English troops, and the prospect of the speedy capture of the golden city, so operated on the fears of the monarch, that he yielded, and signed a treaty of peace, in which he ceded a large portion of his territory, and agreed to pay a crore of rupees, (about four millions and a half of dollars,) in four instalments. He was required, moreover, to liberate all the English and American prisoners. Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and Dr. Price, were thus rescued from the grasp of their oppressors; and on the 24th of February, 1826, they were received, with the kindest hospitality, at the British camp. Mrs. Judson wrote thus to her sister:

"*British Camp, Yandaboo, 40 miles from Ava, Feb. 25, 1826.*

"My dear Sister A.,

"Happy indeed am I to be in a situation once more to write you, and to find myself under the protection of a Christian government. To have my mind once more relieved from those agonizing expectations and fearful apprehensions to which it has so long been subject, almost incapacitates me for writing, from excess of joy, and, I trust, sincere gratitude to Him who has afflicted and delivered us from our afflictions. I have only time to write a line or two, just to inform you of our emancipation and comfortable circumstances.

"Four or five days ago, my hopes of being released from the Burman yoke were faint indeed; but through the kindness of Sir Archibald Campbell, who demanded us of the Burman government, we obtained our liberty, and are now under his protection, and receive from him every possible attention. He has provided us with a tent near his own, during our stay on the banks of the Irrawaddy, and one of the largest gun boats to convey us to Rangoon. Peace was ratified yesterday, and in a few days we shall proceed down the river.

"We have a little daughter, born seven months after the imprisonment of her father; she is a lovely child and now more than a year old. We call her Maria Eliza Butterworth. Maria's nurse, together with two little Burman girls, Mary and Abby, I have brought with me, and shall now have it in my power to take them with me wherever I go. My health is now good, having just recovered from a dreadful fever, during the height of which I was delirious, for several days, and in the absence of Mr. J. without any

person to look after me, excepting servants. Perhaps no person was ever brought so low, and recovered. It appeared a miracle to every one, and I could only say, It is the Lord who has done it. So entirely exhausted was my strength, that I could not move a limb for some time, or stand on my feet for six weeks after; and even now, three months since my fever left me, I have hardly strength to walk alone, though I am perfectly well in other respects.

"We shall probably continue in the Burman Empire, but in some part under British protection. God has been with us through all our sufferings, and intermingled mercies all the way. Bless his holy name, for he is a prayer hearing God, and will not forsake his people in their distress. Remember us in your prayers.

"P. S. This is the first letter I have written for nearly two years."

CHAPTER XVI.

Account of the Scenes at Ava during the War.

The sufferings of the Missionaries during this long and disastrous period, surpassed all that the most alarmed and fertile imagination had conceived. Of the dreadful scenes at Ava, a minute account was written by Mrs. Judson to Dr. Elnathan Judson, who has kindly furnished it for this work. It will be read with strong and painful interest. Fiction itself has seldom invented a tale more replete with terror.

"*Rangoon, May* 26, 1826.

"My beloved Brother,

"I commence this letter with the intention of giving you the particulars of our captivity and sufferings at Ava. How long my patience will allow my reviewing scenes of disgust and horror, the conclusion of this letter will determine. I had kept a journal of every thing that had transpired from our arrival at Ava, but destroyed it at the commencement of our difficulties.

"The first certain intelligence we received of the declaration of war by the Burmese, was on our arrival at Tsenpyoo-kywon, about a hundred miles this side of Ava, where part of the troops, under the command of the celebrated Bandoola, had encamped. As we proceeded on our journey, we met Bandoola himself, with the remainder of his troops, gaily equipped, seated on his golden barge, and sur-

rounded by a fleet of gold war boats, one of which was instantly dispatched the other side of the river to hail us, and make all necessary inquiries. We were allowed to proceed quietly on, when we had informed the messenger that we were Americans, *not English*, and were going to Ava in obedience to the command of his majesty.

"On our arrival at the capital, we found that Dr. Price was out of favour at court, and that suspicion rested on most of the foreigners then at Ava. Your brother visited at the palace two or three times, but found the king's manner toward him very different from what it formerly had been; and the queen, who had hitherto expressed wishes for my speedy arrival, now made no inquiries after me, or intimated a wish to see me. Consequently, I made no effort to visit at the palace, though almost daily invited to visit some of the branches of the royal family, who were living in their own houses out of the palace enclosure. Under these circumstances, we thought our most prudent course lay in prosecuting our original intention of building a house and commencing missionary operations as occasions offered, thus endeavouring to convince the government that we had really nothing to do with the present war.

"In two or three weeks after our arrival, the king, queen, all the members of the royal family, and most of the officers of government, returned to Amarapoora, in order to come and take possession of the new palace in the customary style. As there has been much misunderstanding relative to Ava and Amarapoora, both being called the capital of the Burmese Empire, I will here remark, that present Ava was formerly the seat of government; but soon after the old king had ascended the throne, it was forsaken, and a new palace built at Amarapoora, about six miles from Ava, in which he remained during his life. In the fourth year of the reign of the present king, Amarapoora was in its turn forsaken, and a new and beautiful palace built at Ava, which was *then* in ruins, but is *now the capital* of the Burmese Empire, and the residence of the emperor. The king and royal family had been living in temporary buildings at Ava during the completion of the new palace, which gave occasion for their returning to Amarapoora.

"I dare not attempt a description of that splendid day when majesty with all its attendant glory, entered the gates of the golden city, and amid the acclamations of millions, I may say, took possession of the palace. The saupwars of the provinces bordering on China, all the viceroys and high of-

ficers of the kingdom, were assembled on the occasion, dressed in their robes of state, and ornamented with the insignia of their office. The white elephant, richly adorned with gold and jewels, was one of the most beautiful objects in the procession. The king and queen alone were unadorned, dressed in the simple garb of the country; they hand in hand entered the garden in which we had taken our seats, and where a banquet was prepared for their refreshment. All the riches and glory of the empire were on this day exhibited to view. The number and immense size of the elephants, the numerous horses, and great variety of vehicles of all descriptions, far surpassed any thing I have ever seen or imagined. Soon after his majesty had taken possession of the new palace, an order was issued that no foreigner should be allowed to enter, excepting Lansago. We were a little alarmed at this, but concluded it was from political motives, and would not, perhaps, essentially affect us.

"For several weeks, nothing took place to alarm us, and we went on with our school. Mr. J. preached every Sabbath, all the materials for building a brick house were procured, and the masons had made considerable progress in raising the building.

"On the 23d of May, 1824, just as we had concluded worship at the Doctor's house, the other side of the river, a messenger came to inform us that Rangoon was taken by the English. The intelligence produced a shock in which was a mixture of fear and joy. Mr. Gouger, a young merchant residing at Ava, was then with us, and had much more reason to fear than the rest of us. We all, however, immediately returned to our house, and began to consider what was to be done. Mr. G. went to Prince Thar-yar-wa-dee, the king's most influential brother, who informed him he need not give himself any uneasiness, as he had mentioned the subject to his majesty, who had replied, that 'the few foreigners residing at Ava had nothing to do with the war, and should not be molested.'

"The government were now all in motion. An army of ten or twelve thousand men, under the command of the Kyee-woon-gyee, were sent off in three or four days, and were to be joined by the Sakyer-woon-gyee, who had previously been appointed Viceroy of Rangoon, and who was on his way thither, when the news of its attack reached him. No doubt was entertained of the defeat of the Eng-

lish, the only fear of the king was, that the foreigners, hearing of the advance of the Burmese troops, would be so alarmed, as to flee on board their ships and depart, before there would be time to secure them as slaves. 'Bring for me,' said a wild young buck of the palace, 'six kala pyoo, (white strangers,) to row my boat;' and 'to me,' said the lady of a Woon-gyee, 'send four white strangers to manage the affairs of my house, as I understand they are trusty servants.' The war boats, in high glee, passed our house, the soldiers singing and dancing, and exhibiting gestures of the most joyous kind. Poor fellows! said we, you will probably never dance again. And it so proved, for few if any ever saw again their native home.

"As soon as the army were dispatched, the government began to inquire the cause of the arrival of the strangers at Rangoon. There must be spies in the country, suggested some, who have invited them over. And who so likely to be spies, as the Englishmen residing at Ava. A report was in circulation, that Capt. Laird, lately arrived, had brought Bengal papers which contained the intention of the English to take Rangoon, and it was kept a secret from his majesty. An inquiry was instituted. The three Englishmen, Gouger, Laird, and Rogers, were called and examined. It was found they had seen the papers, and were put in confinement, though not in the prison. We now began to tremble for ourselves, and were in daily expectation of some dreadful event.

"At length Mr. Judson and Dr. Price were summoned to a court of examination, where strict inquiry was made relative to all they knew. The great point seemed to be whether they had been in the habit of making communications to foreigners of the state of the country, &c. They answered, they had always written to their friends in America, but had no correspondence with English officers, or the Bengal government. After their examination, they were not put in confinement as the Englishmen had been, but were allowed to return to their houses. In examining the accounts of Mr. G. it was found that Mr. Judson and Dr. Price had taken money of him to a considerable amount. Ignorant as were the Burmese of our mode of receiving money by orders on Bengal, this circumstance, to their suspicious minds, was a sufficient evidence, that the Missionaries were in the pay of the English, and very probably spies. It was thus represented to the king, who, in an angry tone, ordered the immediate arrest of the 'two teachers.'

"On the 8th of June, just as we were preparing for dinner, in rushed an officer holding a black book, with a dozen Burmans, accompanied by *one*, who, from his spotted face, we knew to be an executioner, and a 'son of the prison.' 'Where is the teacher?' was the first inquiry. Mr. Judson presented himself. 'You are called by the king,' said the officer; a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal. The spotted man instantly seized Mr. Judson, threw him on the floor, and produced the small cord, the instrument of torture. I caught hold of his arm; 'Stay, (said I,) I will give you money.' 'Take her too,' said the officer; 'she also is a foreigner.' Mr. Judson, with an imploring look, begged they would let me remain till further orders. The scene now was shocking beyond description. The whole neighbourhood had collected—the masons at work on the brick house threw down their tools, and ran—the little Burman children were screaming and crying—the Bengallee servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered their master—and the hardened executioner, with a kind of hellish joy, drew tight the cords, bound Mr. Judson fast, and dragged him off I knew not whither. In vain I begged and entreated the spotted face to take the silver, and loosen the ropes; but he spurned my offers, and immediately departed. I gave the money, however, to Moung Ing to follow after, to make some further attempt to mitigate the torture of Mr. Judson; but instead of succeeding, when a few rods from the house, the unfeeling wretches again threw their prisoner on the ground, and drew the cords still tighter, so as almost to prevent respiration.

"The officer and his gang proceeded on to the court house, where the governor of the city and officers were collected, one of whom read the order of the king, to commit Mr. Judson to the death prison, into which he was soon hurled, the door closed—and Moung Ing saw no more. What a night was now before me! I retired into my room, and endeavoured to obtain consolation from committing my case to God, and imploring fortitude and strength to suffer whatever awaited me. But the consolation of retirement was not long allowed me, for the magistrate of the place had come into the verandah, and continually called me to come out, and submit to his examination. But previously to going out, I destroyed all my letters, journals, and writings of every kind, lest they should disclose the fact, that we had correspondents in England, and had minuted

down every occurrence since our arrival in the country. When this work of destruction was finished, I went out and submitted to the examination of the magistrate, who inquired very minutely of every thing I knew; then ordered the gates of the compound to be shut, no person to be allowed to go in or out, placed a guard of ten ruffians, to whom he gave a strict charge to keep me safe, and departed.

"It was now dark. I retired to an inner room with my four little Burman girls, and barred the doors. The guard instantly ordered me to unbar the doors and come out, or they would break the house down. I obstinately refused to obey, and endeavoured to intimidate them by threatening to complain of their conduct to higher authorities on the morrow. Finding me resolved in disregarding their orders, they took the two Bengallee servants, and confined them in the stocks, in a very painful position. I could not endure this; but called the head man to a window, and promised to make them all a present in the morning, if they would release the servants. After much debate and many severe threatenings, they consented, but seemed resolved to annoy me as much as possible. My unprotected desolate state, my entire uncertainty of the fate of Mr. Judson, and the dreadful carousings and almost diabolical language of the guard, all conspired to make it by far the most distressing night I had ever passed. You may well imagine, my dear brother, that sleep was a stranger to my eyes, and peace and composure to my mind.

"The next morning, I sent Moung Ing to ascertain the situation of your brother, and give him food, if still living. He soon returned, with the intelligence, that Mr. Judson, and all the white foreigners, were confined in the *death prison*, with three pairs of iron fetters each, and fastened to a long pole to prevent their moving! The point of my anguish now was, that I was a prisoner myself, and could make no efforts for the release of the Missionaries. I begged and entreated the magistrate to allow me to go to some member of government to state my case; but he said he did not dare to consent, for fear I should make my escape. I next wrote a note to one of the king's sisters with whom I had been intimate, requesting her to use her influence for the release of the teachers. The note was returned with this message—She 'did not understand it,'—which was a polite refusal to interfere; though I afterwards ascertained, that she had an anxious desire to assist us, but dared not on account of the queen. The day dragged heavily

away, and another dreadful night was before me. I endeavoured to soften the feelings of the guard, by giving them tea and segars for the night; so that they allowed me to remain inside of my room, without threatening as they did the night before. But the idea of your brother being stretched on the bare floor in irons and confinement, haunted my mind like a spectre, and prevented my obtaining any quiet sleep, though nature was almost exhausted.

"On the third day, I sent a message to the governor of the city, who has the entire direction of prison affairs, to allow me to visit him with a present. This had the desired effect; and he immediately sent orders to the guards, to permit my going into town. The governor received me pleasantly, and asked me what I wanted. I stated to him the situation of the foreigners, and particularly that of the teachers, who were Americans, and had nothing to do with the war. He told me it was not in his power to release them from prison or irons, but that he could make their situation more comfortable; there was his head officer, with whom I must consult, relative to the means. The officer, who proved to be one of the city writers, and whose countenance at the first glance presented the most perfect assemblage of all the evil passions attached to human nature, took me aside, and endeavoured to convince me, that myself, as well as the prisoners, was entirely at his disposal—that our future comfort must depend on my liberality in regard to presents—and that these must be made in a private way and unknown to any officer in the government! What must I do, said I, to obtain a mitigation of the present sufferings of the two teachers? 'Pay to me,' said he, 'two hundred tickals, (about a hundred dollars,) two pieces of fine cloth, and two pieces of handkerchiefs.' I had taken money with me in the morning, our house being two miles from the prison—I could not easily return. This I offered to the writer, and begged he would not insist on the other articles, as they were not in my possession. He hesitated for some time, but fearing to lose the sight of so much money, he concluded to take it, promising to relieve the teachers from their most painful situation.

"I then procured an order from the governor, for my admittance into prison; but the sensations produced by meeting your brother in that *wretched*, *horrid* situation, and the affecting scene which ensued, I will not attempt to describe. Mr. Judson crawled to the door of the prison—for I was never allowed to enter—gave me some directions re-

lative to his release; but before we could make any arrangement, I was ordered to depart, by those iron hearted jailors, who could not endure to see us enjoy the poor consolation of meeting in that miserable place. In vain I pleaded the order from the governor for my admittance; they again harshly repeated, 'Depart, or we will pull you out.' The same evening, the Missionaries, together with the other foreigners, who paid an equal sum, were taken out of the common prison, and confined in an open shed in the prison enclosure. Here I was allowed to send them food, and mats to sleep on; but was not permitted to enter again for several days.

"My next object was to get a petition presented to the queen; but no person being admitted into the palace, who was in disgrace with his majesty, I sought to present it through the medium of her brother's wife. I had visited her in better days, and received particular marks of her favour. But now times were altered: Mr. Judson was in prison, and I in distress, which was a sufficient reason for giving me a cold reception. I took a present of considerable value. She was lolling on her carpet as I entered, with her attendants around her. I waited not for the usual question to a suppliant, 'What do you want?' but in a bold, earnest, yet respectful manner, stated our distresses and our wrongs, and begged her assistance. She partly raised her head, opened the present I had brought, and coolly replied, 'Your case is not singular; all the foreigners are treated alike.' 'But it is singular,' said I, 'the teachers are Americans; they are ministers of religion, and have nothing to do with war or politicks, and came to Ava, in obedience to the king's command. They have never done any thing to deserve such treatment; and is it right they should be treated thus?' 'The king does as he pleases,' said she; 'I am not the king, what can I do?' 'You can state their case to the queen, and obtain their release,' replied I. 'Place yourself in my situation,—were you in America, your husband, innocent of crime, thrown into prison, in irons, and you a solitary, unprotected female—what would you do?' With a slight degree of feeling, she said, 'I will present your petition,—come again to-morrow.' I returned to the house, with considerable hope, that the speedy release of the Missionaries was at hand. But the next day, Mr. Gouger's property, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, was taken and carried to the palace. The officers, on their return, politely informed me, they

should *visit our house* on the morrow. I felt obliged for this information, and accordingly made preparations to receive them, by secreting as many little articles as possible; together with considerable silver, as I knew, if the war should be protracted, we should be in a state of starvation without it. But my mind was in a dreadful state of agitation, lest it should be discovered, and cause my being thrown into prison. And had it been possible to procure money from any other quarter, I should not have ventured on such a step.

"The following morning, the royal treasurer, prince Tharyawadees, chief woon, and Koung-tone myoo-tsa, who was in future our steady friend, attended by forty or fifty followers, came to take possession of all we had. I treated them civilly, gave them chairs to sit on, tea and sweetmeats for their refreshment; and justice obliges me to say, that they conducted the business of confiscation, with more regard to my feelings, than I should have thought it possible for Burmese officers to exhibit. The three officers, with one of the royal secretaries, alone entered the house; their attendants were ordered to remain outside. They saw I was deeply affected, and apologized for what they were about to do, by saying, that it was painful for them to take possession of property not their own, but they were compelled thus to do, by order of the king. 'Where is your silver, gold, and jewels?' said the royal treasurer. 'I have no gold or jewels; but here is the key of a trunk which contains the silver—do with it as you please.' The trunk was produced, and the silver weighed. 'This money,' said I, 'was collected in America, by the disciples of Christ, and sent here for the purpose of building a kyoung, (the name of a priest's dwelling) and for our support, while teaching the religion of Christ. Is it suitable that you should take it?' (The Burmans are averse to taking what is offered in a religious point of view, which was the cause of my making the inquiry.) 'We will state this circumstance to the king,' said one of them, 'and perhaps he will restore it. But is this all the silver you have?' I could not tell a falsehood: 'The house is in your possession,' I replied; 'search for yourselves.' 'Have you not deposited silver with some person of your acquaintance?' 'My acquaintances are all in prison, with whom should I deposit silver?' They next ordered my trunk and drawers to be examined. The secretary only was allowed to accompany me in this search.

Every thing nice or curious, which met his view, was presented to the officers, for their decision, whether it should be taken or retained. I begged they would not take our wearing apparel, as it would be disgraceful to take clothes partly worn into the possession of his majesty, and to us they were of unspeakable value. They assented, and took a list only, and did the same with the books, medicines, &c. My little work table and rocking chair, presents from my beloved brother, I rescued from their grasp, partly by artifice, and partly through their ignorance. They left also many articles, which were of inestimable value during our long imprisonment.

"As soon as they had finished their search and departed, I hastened to the queen's brother, to hear what had been the fate of my petition; when, alas, all my hopes were dashed, by his wife's coolly saying, 'I stated your case to the queen, but her majesty replied, *The teachers will not die; let them remain as they are.*' My expectations had been so much excited, that this sentence was like a thunderclap to my feelings. For the truth at one glance assured me, that if the queen refused assistance, who would dare to intercede for me? With a heavy heart, I departed, and on my way home, attempted to enter the prison gate, to communicate the sad tidings to your brother, but was harshly refused admittance; and for the ten days following, notwithstanding my daily efforts, I was not allowed to enter. We attempted to communicate by writing, and after being successful for a few days, it was discovered: the poor fellow who carried the communications, was beat, and put in the stocks; and the circumstance cost me about ten dollars, besides two or three days of agony, for fear of the consequences.

"The officers who had taken possession of our property, presented it to his majesty, saying, 'Yudathan is a true teacher; we found nothing in his house, but what belongs to priests. In addition to this money, there are an immense number of books, medicines, trunks of wearing apparel, &c. of which we have only taken a list. Shall we take them, or let them remain?' 'Let them remain,' said the king, 'and put this property by itself, for it shall be restored to him again, if he is found innocent.' This was an allusion to the idea of his being a spy.

"For two or three months following, I was subject to continual harassments, partly through my ignorance of police management, and partly through the insatiable de-

sire of every petty officer, to enrich himself through our misfortunes. When the officers came to our house, to confiscate our property, they insisted on knowing how much I had given the governor and prison officers, to release the teachers from the inner prison. I honestly told them, and they demanded the sum from the governor, which threw him into a dreadful rage, and he threatened to put all the prisoners back into their original place. I went to him the next morning, and the first words with which he accosted me, were, 'You are very bad; why did you tell the royal treasurer, that you had given me so much money?' 'The treasurer inquired; what could I say?' I replied. 'Say that you had given nothing,' said he, 'and I would have made the teachers comfortable in prison; but now I know not what will be their fate.' 'But I cannot tell a falsehood,' I replied. 'My religion differs from yours—it forbids prevarication; and had you stood by me with your knife raised, I could not have said what you suggest.' His wife, who sat by his side, and who always, from this time, continued my firm friend, instantly said, 'Very true—what else could she have done? I like such straight forward conduct; you must not, (turning to the governor) be angry with her.' I then presented the governor with a beautiful opera glass, I had just received from England, and begged his anger at me would not influence him to treat the prisoners with unkindness, and I would endeavour, from time to time, to make him such presents, as would compensate for his loss. 'You may intercede for your husband only; for your sake, he shall remain where he is; but let the other prisoners take care of themselves.' I pleaded hard for Dr. Price; but he would not listen, and the same day had him returned to the inner prison, where he remained ten days; he was then taken out, in consequence of the Dr.'s promising a piece of broad cloth, and my sending two pieces of handkerchiefs.

"About this period, I was one day summoned to the Shwot-dau, in an official way. What new evil was before me, I knew not, but was obliged to go. When arrived, I was allowed to *stand* at the bottom of the stairs, as no female is permitted to ascend the steps, or even to stand, but sit on the ground. Hundreds were collected around. The officer who presided, in an authoritative voice, began—'Speak the truth, in answer to the questions I shall ask. If you speak true, no evil will follow; but if not, your life

will not be spared. It is reported that you have committed to the care of a Burmese officer, a string of pearls, a pair of diamond ear-rings, and a silver tea pot. Is it true?' 'It is not,' I replied; 'and if you, or any other person, can produce these articles, I refuse not to die.' The officer again urged the necessity of 'speaking true.' I told him I had nothing more to say on this subject, but begged he would use his influence to obtain the release of Mr. Judson from prison.

"I returned to the house, with a heart much lighter than I went, though conscious of my perpetual exposure to such harassments. Notwithstanding the repulse I had met in my application to the queen, I could not remain without making continual effort for your brother's release, while there was the least probability of success. Time after time, my visits to the queen's sister-in-law were repeated, till she refused to answer a question, and told me by her looks, I had better keep out of her presence. For the seven following months, hardly a day passed, that I did not visit some one of the members of government, or branches of the royal family, in order to gain their influence in our behalf; but the only benefit resulting was, their encouraging promises preserved us from despair, and induced a hope of the speedy termination of our difficulties, which enabled us to bear our distresses better than we otherwise should have done. I ought, however, to mention, that by my repeated visits to the different members of government, I gained several friends, who were ready to assist me with articles of food, though in a private manner, and who used their influence in the palace to destroy the impression of our being in any way engaged in the present war. But no one dared to speak a word to the king or queen in favour of a foreigner, while there were such continual reports of the success of the English arms.

"During these seven months, the continual extortions and oppressions to which your brother, and the other white prisoners, were subject, are indescribable. Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs; at other times, an order would be issued, that the white foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food, without an extra fee. Sometimes, for days and days together, I could not go into the prison till after dark, when I had two miles to walk, in returning to the

house. O how many, many times, have I returned from that dreary prison at nine o'clock at night, solitary and worn out with fatigue and anxiety, and thrown myself down in that same rocking chair which you and Deacon L. provided for me in Boston, and endeavoured to invent some new scheme for the release of the prisoners. Sometimes, for a moment or two, my thoughts would glance toward America, and my beloved friends there—but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought, with present scenes and sufferings, that I seldom reflected on a single occurrence of my former life, or recollected that I had a friend in existence out of Ava.

"You, my dear brother, who know my strong attachment to my friends, and how much pleasure I have hitherto experienced from retrospect, can judge from the above circumstances, how intense were my sufferings. But the point, the acme of my distress, consisted in the awful uncertainty of our final fate. My prevailing opinion was, that my husband would suffer violent death; and that I should, of course, become a slave, and languish out a miserable though short existence, in the tyrannick hands of some unfeeling monster. But the consolations of religion, in these trying circumstances, were neither 'few nor small.' It taught me to look beyond this world, to that rest, that peaceful happy rest, where Jesus reigns, and oppression never enters. But how have I digressed from my relation. I will again return.

"The war was now prosecuted with all the energy the Burmese government possessed. New troops were continually raised and sent down the river, and as frequent reports returned of their being all cut off. But that part of the Burmese army stationed in Arracan, under the command of Bandoola, had been more successful. Three hundred prisoners, at one time, were sent to the capital, as an evidence of the victory that had been gained. The king began to think that none but Bandoola understood the art of fighting with foreigners; consequently his majesty recalled him, with the design of taking command of the army that had been sent to Rangoon. On his arrival at Ava, he was received at court in the most flattering manner, and was the recipient of every favour in the power of the king and queen to bestow. He was, in fact, while at Ava, the acting king. I was resolved to apply to him for the release of the Missionaries, though some members of government advised me not, lest he, being reminded of their existence,

should issue an immediate order for their execution. But it was my last hope, and, as it proved, my last application.

"Your brother wrote a petition privately, stating every circumstance that would have a tendency to interest him in our behalf. With fear and trembling I approached him, while surrounded by a crowd of flatterers; and one of his secretaries took the petition, and read it aloud. After hearing it, he spake to me in an obliging manner—asked several questions relative to the teachers—said he would think of the subject—and bade me come again. I ran to the prison to communicate the favourable reception to Mr. Judson; and we both had sanguine hopes that his release was at hand. But the governor of the city expressed his amazement at my temerity, and said he doubted not it would be the means of destroying all the prisoners. In a day or two, however, I went again, and took a present of considerable value. Bandoola was not at home; but his *lady*, after ordering the present to be taken into another room, modestly informed me that she was ordered by her husband to make the following communication—that he was now very busily employed in making preparations for Rangoon; but that when he had retaken that place, and expelled the English, he would return and release all the prisoners.

"Thus again were all our hopes dashed; and we felt that we could do nothing more, but sit down and submit to our lot. From this time, we gave up all idea of being released from prison, till the termination of the war; but I was still obliged to visit constantly some of the members of government, with little presents; particularly the governor of the city, for the purpose of making the situation of the prisoners tolerable. I generally spent the greater part of every other day at the governor's house, giving him all the information relative to American manners, customs, government, &c. He used to be so much gratified with my communications, as to feel greatly disappointed, if any occurrence prevented my spending the usual hours at his house.

"Some months after your brother's imprisonment, I was permitted to make a little bamboo room in the prison enclosures, where he could be much by himself, and where I was sometimes allowed to spend two or three hours. It so happened that the two months he occupied this place, was the coldest part of the year, when he would have suffered much in the open shed he had previously occupied.

After the birth of your little niece, I was unable to visit the prison and the governor as before, and found I had lost considerable influence, previously gained; for he was not so forward to hear my petitions when any difficulty occurred, as he formerly had been. When Maria was nearly two months old, her father one morning sent me word that he and all the white prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pairs of fetters each, tha this little room had been torn down, and his mat, pillow, &c. been taken by the jailers. This was to me a dreadful shock, as I thought at once it was only a prelude to greater evils.

"I should have mentioned before this, the defeat of Bandoola, his escape to Danooboo, the complete destruction of his army and loss of ammunition, and the consternation this intelligence produced at court. The English army had left Rangoon, and were advancing towards Prome, when these severe measures were taken with the prisoners.

"I went immediately to the governor's house. He was not at home, but had ordered his wife to tell me, when I came, not to ask to have the additional fetters taken off, or the prisoners released, for *it could not be done.* I went to the prison gate, but was forbid to enter. All was as still as death—not a white face to be seen, or a vestige of Mr. J.'s little room remaining. I was determined to see the governor, and know the cause of this additional oppression; and for this purpose returned into town the same evening, at an hour I knew he would be at home. He was in his audience room, and as I entered, looked up without speaking, but exhibited a mixture of shame and affected anger in his countenance. I began by saying, Your lordship has hitherto treated us with the kindness of a father. Our obligations to you are very great. We have looked to you for protection from oppression and cruelty. You have in many instances mitigated the sufferings of those unfortunate, though innocent beings, committed to your charge. You have promised me particularly, that you would stand by me to the last, and though you should receive an order from the king, you would not put Mr. J. to death. What crime has he committed to deserve such additional punishment? The old man's hard heart was melted, for he wept like a child. "I pity you Tsa-yar-ga-dau, (a name by which he always called me) I knew you would make me feel; I therefore forbade your application. But you must believe me when I say, I do not wish to increase the sufferings of the

prisoners. When I am ordered to execute them, the least that I can do, is to put them out of sight. I will now tell you (continued he) what I have never told you before, that three times I have received intimations from the queen's brother, to assassinate all the white prisoners privately; but I would not do it. And I now repeat it, though I execute all the others, I will never execute your husband. But I cannot release him from his present confinement, and you must not ask it." I had never seen him manifest so much feeling, or so resolute in denying me a favour, which circumstance was an additional reason for thinking dreadful scenes were before us.

"The situation of the prisoners was now distressing beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season. There were above a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretchedness exhibited. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering him money, which he refused; but all that I gained, was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time.

"It was at this period, that the death of Bandoola was announced in the palace. The king heard it with silent amazement, and the queen, in eastern style, smote upon her breast, and cried, ama! ama! (alas, alas.) Who could be found to fill his place; who would venture since the invincible Bandoola had been cut off? Such were the exclamations, constantly heard in the streets of Ava. The common people were speaking *low* of a rebellion, in case more troops should be levied. For as yet the common people had borne the weight of the war, not a tickal had been taken from the royal treasury. At length the Pakan Woon, who a few months before had been so far disgraced by the king as to be thrown into prison and irons, now offered himself to head a new army that should be raised on a different plan from those which had hitherto been raised; and assured the king in the most confident manner, that he would conquer the English, and restore those places that had been taken in a very short time. He proposed that every soldier should receive a hundred tickals in advance, and he would obtain security for each man, as the money was to pass through his hands. It was afterwards found

that he had taken for his own use, ten tickals from every hundred. He was a man of enterprise and talents, though a violent enemy to all foreigners. His offers were accepted by the king and government, and all power immediately committed to him. One of the first exercises of his power was, to arrest Lansago and the Portuguese priest, who had hitherto remained unmolested, and cast them into prison, and to subject the native Portuguese and Bengalees to the most menial occupations. The whole town was in alarm lest they should feel the effects of his power; and it was owing to the malignant representations of this man, that the white prisoners suffered such a change in their circumstances, as I shall soon relate.

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, your brother was taken with a fever. I felt assured he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house and put up a small bamboo room in the governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison gate. Here I incessantly begged the governor to give me an order to take Mr. J. out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my entreaties, at length gave me the order in an official form; and also gave orders to the head jailer, to allow me to go in and out all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed, and had Mr. J. instantly removed into a little bamboo hovel, so low, that neither of us could stand upright—but a palace in comparison with the place he had left."

CHAPTER XVII.

Narrative continued—Removal of the Prisoners to Oung-pen-la—Mrs. Judson follows them.

"Notwithstanding the order the governor had given for my admittance into prison, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the under jailer to open the gate. I used to carry Mr. J.'s food myself for the sake of getting in, and would then remain an hour or two unless driven out. We had been in this comfortable situation but two or three days, when one morning, having carried in Mr. Judson's breakfast, which in consequence of fever he was unable to

take, I remained longer than usual, when the governor in great haste sent for me. I promised him to return as soon as I had ascertained the governor's will, he being much alarmed at this unusual message. I was very agreeably disappointed, when the governor informed me, that he only wished to consult me about his watch, and seemed unusually pleasant and conversable. I found afterwards, that his only object was, to detain me until the dreadful scene about to take place in prison, was over. For when I left him to go to my room, one of the servants came running, and with a ghastly countenance, informed me, that all the white prisoners were carried away. I would not believe the report, and instantly went back to the governor, who said, he had just heard of it, but did not wish to tell me. I hastily ran into the street, hoping to get a glimpse of them before they were out of sight, but in this was disappointed. I ran first into one street, then another, inquiring of all I met, but no one would answer me. At length an old woman told me, the white prisoners had gone towards the little river; for they were to be carried to Amarapoora. I then ran to the banks of the little river, about half a mile, but saw them not, and concluded the old woman had deceived me. Some of the friends of the foreigners went to the place of execution, but found them not. I then returned to the governor, to try to discover the cause of their removal, and the probability of their future fate. The old man assured me, that he was ignorant of the intention of government to remove the foreigners till that morning. That since I went out he had learned, that the prisoners were to be sent to Amarapoora; but for what purpose, he knew not. 'I will send off a man immediately,' said he, 'to see what is to be done with them. You can do nothing more for your husband,' continued he, '*take care of yourself.*' With a heavy heart, I went to my room, and having no hope to excite me to exertion, I sunk down almost in despair. For several days previous, I had been actively engaged in building my own little room, and making our hovel comfortable. My thoughts had been almost entirely occupied in contriving means to get into prison. But now I looked towards the gate with a kind of melancholy feeling, but no wish to enter. All was the stillness of death, no preparation of your brother's food, no expectation of meeting him at the usual dinner hour, all my employment, all my occupations seemed to have ceased, and I had nothing left but the dreadful recollection that Mr. Judson was

carried off, I knew not whither.—It was one of the most insupportable days I ever passed. Towards night, however, I came to the determination to set off the next morning for Amarapoora; and for this purpose was obliged to go to our house out of town.

"Never before had I suffered so much from fear in traversing the streets of Ava. The last words of the governor, 'Take care of yourself,' made me suspect there was some design with which I was unacquainted. I saw, also, he was afraid to have me go into the streets, and advised me to wait till dark, when he would send me in a cart, and a man to open the gates. I took two or three trunks of the most valuable articles, together with the medicine chest, to deposit in the house of the governor; and after committing the house and premises to our faithful Moung Ing and a Bengal servant, who had continued with us, (though we were unable to pay his wages) I took leave, as I then thought probable, of our house in Ava forever.

"On my return to the governor's, I found a servant of Mr. Gouger, who happened to be near the prison when the foreigners were led out, and followed on to see the end, who informed me, that the prisoners had been carried before the Lamine Woon, at Amarapoora, and were to be sent the next day to a village he knew not how far distant. My distress was a little relieved by the intelligence, that our friend was yet alive, but still I knew not what was to become of him. The next morning, I obtained a pass from government, and with my little Maria, who was then only three months old, Mary and Abby Hasseltine, (two of the Burman children) and our Bengalee cook, who was the only one of the party that could afford me any assistance, I set off for Amarapoora. The day was dreadfully hot, but we obtained a covered boat, in which we were tolerably comfortable, till within two miles of the government house. I then procured a cart; but the violent motion, together with the dreadful heat and dust, made me almost distracted. But what was my disappointment on my arriving at the court house, to find that the prisoners had been sent on two hours before, and that I must go in that uncomfortable mode four miles further with little Maria in my arms, whom I had held all the way from Ava. The cart man refused to go any further; and after waiting an hour in the burning sun, I procured another, and set off for that never to be forgotten place, Oung-pen-la. I obtained a guide from the governor, and was conducted directly to the prison yard.

But what a scene of wretchedness was presented to my view! The prison was an old shattered building, without a roof; the fence was entirely destroyed; eight or ten Burmese were on the top of the building, trying to make something like a shelter with leaves; while under a little low projection outside of the prison, sat the foreigners, chained together two and two, almost dead with suffering and fatigue. The first words of your brother were, 'Why have you come? I hoped you would not follow, for you cannot live here.' It was now dark. I had no refreshment for the suffering prisoners, or for myself, as I had expected to procure all that was necessary at the market of Amarapoora, and I had no shelter for the night. I asked one of the jailers if I might put up a little bamboo house near the prison; he said no, it was not customary. I then begged he would procure for me a shelter for the night, when on the morrow, I could find some place to live in. He took me to his house, in which there were only two small rooms, one in which he and his family lived, the other, which was then half full of grain, he offered to me; and in that little filthy place, I spent the next six months of wretchedness. I procured some half boiled water, instead of my tea, and worn out with fatigue, laid myself down on a mat spread over the paddy, and endeavoured to obtain a little refreshment from sleep. The next morning your brother gave me the following account of the brutal treatment he had received on being taken out of prison:

"As soon as I had gone out at the call of the governor, one of the jailers rushed into Mr. J.'s little room—roughly seized him by the arm—pulled him out—stripped him of all his clothes, excepting shirt and pantaloons—took his shoes, hat, and all his bedding—tore off his chains—tied a rope round his waist, and dragged him to the court house, where the other prisoners had previously been taken. They were then tied two and two, and delivered into the hands of the Lamine Woon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together. It was in May, one of the hottest months in the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed. They had proceeded only half a mile, when your brother's feet became blistered, and so great was his agony, even at this early period, that as they were crossing the little river, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act

alone prevented. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in this wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers. Mr. J.'s debilitated state, in consequence of fever, and having taken no food that morning, rendered him less capable of bearing such hardships than the other prisoners. When about half way on their journey, as they stopped for water, your brother begged the Lamine Woon to allow him to ride his horse a mile or two, as he could proceed no further in that dreadful state. But a scornful, malignant look, was all the reply that was made. He then requested Captain Laird, who was tied with him, and who was a strong healthy man, to allow him to take hold of his shoulder, as he was fast sinking. This the kind hearted man granted for a mile or two, but then found the additional burden insupportable. Just at that period Mr. Gouger's Bengalee servant came up to them, and seeing the distresses of your brother, took off his head dress which was made of cloth, tore it in two, gave half to his master, and half to Mr. Judson, which he instantly wrapt round his wounded feet, as they were not allowed to rest, even for a moment. The servant then offered his shoulder to Mr. Judson, and was almost carried by him the remainder of the way. Had it not been for the support and assistance of this man, your brother thinks he should have shared the fate of the poor Greek, who was one of their number, and when taken out of prison that morning was in perfect health. But he was a corpulent man, and the sun affected him so much that he fell down on the way. His inhuman drivers beat and dragged him until they themselves were wearied, when they procured a cart, in which he was carried the remaining two miles. But the poor creature expired, in an hour or two after their arrival at the court house. The Lamine Woon, seeing the distressing state of the prisoners, and that one of their number was dead, concluded they should go no further that night, otherwise they would have been driven on until they reached Oung-pen-la the same day. An old shed was appointed for their abode during the night, but without even a mat or pillow, or any thing to cover them. The curiosity of the Lamine Woon's wife induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably excited her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds, for their refreshment: and the next morning rice was prepared for them, and as poor as it was,

it was refreshing to the prisoners who had been almost destitute of food the day before. Carts were also provided for their conveyance, as none of them were able to walk. All this time the foreigners were entirely ignorant of what was to become of them; and when they arrived at Oung-pen-la, and saw the dilapidated state of the prison, they immediately, all as one, concluded that they were there to be burnt, agreeably to the report which had previously been in circulation at Ava. They all endeavoured to prepare themselves for the awful scene anticipated; and it was not until they saw preparations making for repairing the prison, that they had the least doubt that a cruel lingering death awaited them. My arrival was in an hour or two after this.

"The next morning I arose and endeavoured to find something like food. But there was no market, and nothing to be procured. One of Dr. Price's friends, however, brought some cold rice and vegetable curry, from Amarapoora, which, together with a cup of tea from Mr. Lansago, answered for the breakfast of the prisoners; and for dinner, we made a curry of dried salt fish, which a servant of Mr. Gouger had brought. All the money I could command in the world, I had brought with me, secreted about my person; so you may judge what our prospects were, in case the war should continue long. But our heavenly Father was better to us than our fears; for notwithstanding the constant extortions of the jailers during the whole six months we were at Oung-pen la, and the frequent straits to which we were brought, we never really suffered for the want of money, though frequently for want of provisions, which were not procurable. Here at this place my personal bodily sufferings commenced. While your brother was confined in the city prison, I had been allowed to remain in our house, in which I had many conveniences left, and my health had continued good beyond all expectations. But now I had not a single article of convenience—not even a chair or seat of any kind, excepting a bamboo floor. The very morning after my arrival, Mary Hasseltine was taken with the small pox, the natural way. She, though very young, was the only assistant I had in taking care of little Maria. But she now required all the time I could spare from Mr. Judson, whose fever still continued in prison, and whose feet were so dreadfully mangled, that for several days he was unable to move. I knew not what to do, for I could procure no assistance from the neighbourhood, or medicine for the sufferers, but was all day

ong going backwards and forwards from the house to the prison, with little Maria in my arms. Sometimes I was greatly relieved by leaving her, for an hour, when asleep, by the side of her father, while I returned to the house to look after Mary, whose fever ran so high as to produce delirium. She was so completely covered with the small pox, that there was no distinction in the pustules. As she was in the same little room with myself, I knew Maria would take it; I therefore inoculated her from another child, before Mary's had arrived at such a state as to be infectious. At the same time, I inoculated Abby, and the jailer's children, who all had it so lightly as hardly to interrupt their play. But the inoculation in the arm of my poor little Maria did not take—she caught it of Mary, and had it the natural way. She was then only three months and a half old, and had been a most healthy child; but it was above three months before she perfectly recovered from the effects of this dreadful disorder.

"You will recollect I never had the small pox, but was vaccinated previously to leaving America. In consequence of being for so long a time constantly exposed, I had nearly a hundred pustules formed, though no previous symptoms of fever, &c. The jailer's children having had the small pox so lightly, in consequence of inoculation, my fame was spread all over the village, and every child, young and old, who had not previously had it, was brought for inoculation. And though I knew nothing about the disorder, or the mode of treating it, I inoculated them all with a needle, and told them to take care of their diet,—all the instructions I could give them. Mr. Judson's health was gradually restored, and he found himself much more comfortably situated, than when in the city prison.

"The prisoners were at first chained two and two; but as soon as the jailers could obtain chains sufficient, they were separated, and each prisoner had but one pair. The prison was repaired, a new fence made, and a large airy shed erected in front of the prison, where the prisoners were allowed to remain during the day, though locked up in the little close prison at night. All the children recovered from the small pox; but my watchings and fatigue, together with my miserable food, and more miserable lodgings, brought on one of the diseases of the country, which is almost always fatal to foreigners. My constitution seemed destroyed, and in a few days I became so weak as to be hardly able to

walk to Mr. Judson's prison. In this debilitated state, I set off in a cart for Ava, to procure medicines, and some suitable food, leaving the cook to supply my place. I reached the house in safety, and for two or three days the disorder seemed at a stand; after which it attacked me so violently, that I had no hopes of recovery left—and my only anxiety now was, to return to Oung-pen-la to die near the prison. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained the medicine chest from the governor, and then had no one to administer medicine. I however got at the laudanum, and by taking two drops at a time for several hours, it so far checked the disorder, as to enable me to get on board a boat, though so weak that I could not stand, and again set off for Oung-pen-la. The last four miles was in that painful conveyance, the cart, and in the midst of the rainy season, when the mud almost buries the oxen. You may form some idea of a Burmese cart, when I tell you their wheels are not constructed like ours, but are simply round thick planks with a hole in the middle, through which a pole that supports the body is thrust.

"I just reached Oung-pen-la when my strength seemed entirely exhausted. The good native cook came out to help me into the house; but so altered and emaciated was my appearance, that the poor fellow burst into tears at the first sight. I crawled on to the mat in the little room, to which I was confined for more than two months, and never perfectly recovered, until I came to the English camp. At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or look after Mr. Judson, we must both have died had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengalee cook. A common Bengalee cook will do nothing but the simple business of cooking: But he seemed to forget his cast, and almost his own wants, in his efforts to serve us. He would provide, cook, and carry your brother's food, and then return and take care of me. I have frequently known him not to taste of food till near night, in consequence of having to go so far for wood and water, and in order to have Mr. Judson's dinner ready at the usual hour. He never complained, never asked for his wages, and never for a moment hesitated to go any where, or to perform any act we required. I take great pleasure in speaking of the faithful conduct of this servant, who is still with us, and I trust has been well rewarded for his services.

"Our dear little Maria was the greatest sufferer at this time, my illness depriving her of her usual nourishment, and

neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village. By making presents to the jailers, I obtained leave for Mr. Judson to come out of prison and take the little emaciated creature around the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. I now began to think the very afflictions of Job had come upon me. When in health I could bear the various trials and vicissitudes, through which I was called to pass. But to be confined with sickness, and unable to assist those who were so dear to me, when in distress, was almost too much for me to bear; and had it not been for the consolations of religion, and an assured conviction that every additional trial was ordered by infinite love and mercy, I must have sunk under my accumulated sufferings. Sometimes our jailers seemed a little softened at our distress, and for several days together allowed Mr. Judson to come to the house, which was to me an unspeakable consolation. Then again they would be as iron-hearted in their demands, as though we were free from sufferings, and in affluent circumstances. The annoyance, the extortions and oppressions to which we were subject, during our six months' residence in Oung-pen-la, are beyond enumeration or description.

"It was some time after our arrival at Oung-pen-la, that we heard of the execution of the Pakan Woon, in consequence of which our lives were still preserved. For we afterwards ascertained, that the white foreigners had been sent to Oung-pen-la, for the express purpose of sacrificing them; and that he himself intended witnessing the horrid scene. We had frequently heard of his intended arrival at Oung-pen-la; but we had no idea of his diabolical purposes. He had raised an army of fifty thousand men, a tenth part of whose advanced pay was found in his house, and expected to march against the English army in a short time, when he was suspected of high treason, and instantly executed, without the least examination. Perhaps no death in Ava ever produced such universal rejoicings, as that of the Pakan Woon. We never, to this day, hear his name mentioned, but with an epithet of reproach or hatred. Another brother of the king was appointed to the command of the army now in readiness, but with no very sanguine expectations of success. Some weeks after the departure of these troops, two of the Woon-gyees were sent down for the purpose of negotiating. But not being

successful, the queen's brother, the *acting king* of the country, was prevailed on to go. Great expectations were raised in consequence; but his cowardice induced him to encamp his detachment of the army at a great distance from the English, and even at a distance from the main body of the Burmese army, whose head quarters were then at Maloun. Thus he effected nothing, though reports were continually reaching us, that peace was nearly concluded.

"The time at length arrived for our release from that detested place, the Oung-pen-la prison. A messenger from our friend, the governor of the north gate of the palace, who was formerly Koung-tone Myoo-tsa, informed us that an order had been given, the evening before, in the palace, for Mr. Judson's release. On the same evening an official order arrived; and with a joyful heart, I set about preparing for our departure, early the following morning. But an unexpected obstacle occurred, which made us fear that *I* should still be retained as a prisoner. The avaricious jailers, unwilling to lose their prey, insisted, that as my name was not included in the order, I should not go. In vain I urged that I was not sent there as a prisoner, and that they had no authority over me—they still determined I should not go, and forbade the villagers from letting me a cart. Mr. Judson was then taken out of prison, and brought to the jailers' house, where, by promises and threatenings, he finally gained their consent, on condition that we would leave the remaining part of our provisions, we had recently received from Ava. It was noon before we were allowed to depart. When we reached Amarapoora, Mr. Judson was obliged to follow the guidance of the jailer, who conducted him to the governor of the city. Having made all necessary inquiries, the governor appointed another guard, which conveyed Mr. Judson to the court house in Ava, to which place he arrived some time in the night. I took my own course, procured a boat, and reached our house before dark.

"My first object the next morning was, to go in search of your brother, and I had the mortification to meet him again in prison, though not the death prison. I went immediately to my old friend, the governor of the city, who now was raised to the rank of a Woon-gyee. He informed me that Mr. Judson was to be sent to the Burmese camp, to act as translator and interpreter; and that he was put in confinement for a short time only, till his affairs were set-

tled. Early the following morning I went to this officer again, who told me that Mr. Judson had that moment received twenty tickals from government, with orders to go immediately on board a boat for Maloun, and that *he* had given him permission to stop a few moments at the house, it being on his way. I hastened back to the house, where Mr. Judson soon arrived; but was allowed to remain only a short time, while I could prepare food and clothing for future use. He was crowded into a little boat, where he had not room sufficient to lie down, and where his exposure to the cold damp nights threw him into a violent fever, which had nearly ended all his sufferings. He arrived at Maloun on the third day, where, ill as he was, he was obliged to enter immediately on the work of translating. He remained at Maloun six weeks, suffering as much as he had at any time in prison, excepting he was not in irons, nor exposed to the insults of those cruel jailers.

"For the first fortnight after his departure, my anxiety was less than it had been at any time previous, since the commencement of our difficulties. I knew the Burmese officers at the camp would feel the value of Mr. Judson's services too much to allow their using any measures threatening his life. I thought his situation, also, would be much more comfortable than it really was—hence my anxiety was less. But my health, which had never been restored, since that violent attack at Oung-pen-la, now daily declined, till I was seized with the spotted fever, with all its attendant horrors. I knew the nature of the fever from its commencement; and from the shattered state of my constitution, together with the want of medical attendants, I concluded it must be fatal. The day I was taken with the fever, a Burmese nurse came and offered her services for Maria. This circumstance filled me with gratitude and confidence in God; for though I had so long and so constantly made efforts to obtain a person of this description, I had never been able; when at the very time I most needed one, and without any exertion, a voluntary offer was made. My fever raged violently, and without any intermission. I began to think of settling my worldly affairs, and of committing my dear little Maria to the care of a Portuguese woman, when I lost my reason, and was insensible to all around me. At this dreadful period, Dr. Price was released from prison; and hearing of my illness,

obtained permission to come and see me. He has since told me that my situation was the most distressing he had ever witnessed, and that he did not then think I should survive many hours. My hair was shaved, my head and feet covered with blisters, and Dr. Price ordered the Bengalee servant who took care of me, to endeavour to persuade me to take a little nourishment, which I had obstinately refused for several days. One of the first things I recollect was, seeing this faithful servant standing by me, trying to induce me to take a little wine and water. I was in fact so far gone, that the Burmese neighbours who had come in to see me expire, said, 'She is dead; and if the king of angels should come in, he could not recover her.'

"The fever, I afterwards understood, had run seventeen days when the blisters were applied. I now began to recover slowly; but it was more than a month after this before I had strength to stand. While in this weak, debilitated state, the servant who had followed your brother to the Burmese camp, came in, and informed me that his master had arrived, and was conducted to the court house in town. I sent off a Burman to watch the movements of government, and to ascertain, if possible, in what way Mr. Judson was to be disposed of. He soon returned with the sad intelligence, that he saw Mr. Judson go out of the palace yard, accompanied by two or three Burmans, who conducted him to one of the prisons; and that it was reported in town, that he was to be sent back to the Oung-pen-la prison. I was too weak to bear ill tidings of any kind; but a shock so dreadful as this, almost annihilated me. For some time, I could hardly breathe; but at last gained sufficient composure to despatch Moung Ing to our friend, the governor of the north gate, and begged him to make *one more effort* for the release of Mr. Judson, and prevent his being sent back to the country prison, where I knew he must suffer much, as I could not follow. Moung Ing then went in search of Mr. Judson; and it was nearly dark, when he found him in the interior of an obscure prison. I had sent food early in the afternoon, but being unable to find him, the bearer had returned with it, which added another pang to my distresses, as I feared he was already sent to Oung-pen-la.

"If I ever felt the value and efficacy of prayer, I did at this time. I could not rise from my couch; I could make no efforts to secure my husband; I could only plead with that great and powerful Being who has said, "Call upon

me in the day of trouble, and *I will hear*, and thou shalt glorify me ;" and who made me at this time feel so powerfully this promise, that I became quite composed, feeling assured that my prayers would be answered.

" When Mr. Judson was sent from Maloun to Ava, it was within five minutes' notice, and without his knowledge of the cause. On his way up the river, he accidentally saw the communication made to government respecting him, which was simply this : ' We have no further use for Yoodathan, we therefore return him to the golden city.' On arriving at the court house, there happened to be no one present who was acquainted with Mr. J. The presiding officer inquired from what place he had been sent to Maloun. He was answered from Oung-pen-la. Let him then, said the officer, be returned thither—when he was delivered to a guard and conducted to the place above mentioned, there to remain until he could be conveyed to Oung-pen-la. In the mean time the governor of the north gate presented a petition to the high court of the empire, offered himself as Mr. Judson's security, obtained his release, and took him to his house, where he treated him with every possible kindness, and to which I was removed as soon as returning health would allow.

" The rapid strides of the English army towards the capital at this time threw the whole town into the greatest state of alarm, and convinced the government that some speedy measures must be taken to save the golden city. They had hitherto rejected all the overtures of Sir Archibald Campbell, imagining, until this late period, that they could in some way or other drive the English from the country. Mr. Judson and Dr. Price were daily called to the court house and consulted ; in fact nothing was done without their approbation. Two English officers, also, who had lately been brought to Ava as prisoners, were continually consulted, and their good offices requested in endeavouring to persuade the British general to make peace on easier terms. It was finally concluded that Mr. Judson and one of the officers above mentioned, should be sent immediately to the English camp, in order to negotiate. The danger attached to a situation so responsible, under a government so fickle as the Burmese, induced your brother to use every means possible to prevent his being sent. Dr. Price was not only willing, but desirous of going : this circumstance Mr. Judson represented to the members of government, and begged he might not be compelled to go, as Dr.

Price could transact the business equally as well as himself. After some hesitation and deliberation, Dr. Price was appointed to accompany Dr. Sanford, one of the English officers, on condition that Mr. Judson would stand security for his return; while the other English officer, then in irons, should be security for Dr. Sanford. The king gave them a hundred tickals each, to bear their expenses, (twenty-five of which Dr. Sanford generously sent to Mr. Gouger still a prisoner at Oung-pen-la,) boats, men, and a Burmese officer, to accompany them, though he ventured no farther than the Burman camp. With the most anxious solicitude the court waited the arrival of the messengers, but did not in the least relax in their exertions to fortify the city. Men and beasts were at work night and day, making new stockades and strengthening old ones, and whatever buildings were in their way were immediately torn down. Our house, with all that surrounded it, was levelled to the ground, and our beautiful little compound turned into a road and a place for the erection of cannon. All articles of value were conveyed out of town, and safely deposited in some other place.

"At length the boat in which the embassadors had been sent was seen approaching a day earlier than was expected. As it advanced towards the city, the banks were lined by thousands, anxiously inquiring their success. But no answer was given—the government must first hear the news. The palace gates were crowded, the officers at the Shwotdau were seated, when Dr. Price made the following communication: "The general and commissioners will make no alteration in their terms, except the hundred lacks (a lack is a hundred thousand) of rupees, may be paid at four different times. The first twenty-five lacks to be paid within twelve days, or the army will continue their march." In addition to this, the prisoners were to be given up immediately. The general had commissioned Dr. Price to demand Mr. Judson and myself and little Maria. This was communicated to the king, who replied, "They are not English, they are my people, and shall not go." At this time I had no idea that we should ever be released from Ava. The government had learned the value of your brother's services, having employed him the last three months; and we both concluded they would never consent to our departure. The foreigners were again called to a consultation, to see what could be done. Dr. Price and Mr. Judson told them plain-

ly that the English would never make peace on any other terms than those offered, and that it was in vain to go down again without the money. It was then proposed that a third part of the first sum demanded should be sent down immediately. Mr. Judson objected, and still said it would be useless. Some of the members of government then intimated, that it was probable the teachers were on the side of the English, and did not try to make them take a smaller sum; and also threatened if they did not make the English comply, they and their families should suffer.

"In this interval, the fears of the government were considerably allayed, by the offers of a general, by name Layarthoo-yah, who desired to make one more attempt to conquer the English, and disperse them. He assured the king and government, that he could so fortify the ancient city of Pagan, as to make it impregnable; and that he would there defeat and destroy the English. His offers were heard, he marched to Pagan with a very considerable force, and made strong the fortifications. But the English took the city with perfect ease, and dispersed the Burmese army; while the general fled to Ava, and had the presumption to appear in the presence of the king, and demand new troops. The king being enraged that he had ever listened to him for a moment, in consequence of which the negotiation had been delayed, the English general provoked, and the troops daily advancing, that he ordered the general to be immediately executed! The poor fellow was soon hurled from the palace, and beat all the way to the court house—when he was stripped of his rich apparel, bound with cords, and made to kneel and bow towards to the palace; he was then delivered into the hands of the executioners, who, by their cruel treatment, put an end to his existence, before they reached the place of execution.

"The king caused it to be reported, that this general was executed, in consequence of disobeying his commands, '*not to fight the English.*'

"Dr. Price was sent off the same night, with part of the prisoners, and with instructions to persuade the general to take six lacks instead of twenty-five. He returned in two or three days with the appalling intelligence, that the English general was very angry, refused to have any communication with him, and was now within a few days' march of the capital. The queen was greatly alarmed, and said the money should be raised immediately, if the English would only stop their march. The whole palace was in motion,

gold and silver vessels were melted up, the king and queen superintended the weighing of a part of it, and were determined if possible to save their city. The silver was ready in the boats by the next evening; but they had so little confidence in the English, that after all their alarm, they concluded to send down six lacks only, with the assurance that if the English would stop where they then were, the remainder should be forth coming immediately.

"The government now did not even ask Mr. Judson the question, whether he would go or not; but some of the officers took him by the arm, as he was walking in the street, and told him he must go immediately on board the boat, to accompany two Burmese officers, a Woongyee and Woondouk, who were going down to make peace. Most of the English prisoners were sent at the same time. The general and commissioners would not receive the six lacks, neither would they stop their march; but promised, if the sum complete reached them before they should arrive at Ava, they would made peace. The general also commissioned Mr. Judson to collect the remaining foreigners, of whatever country, and ask the question before the Burmese government, whether they wished to go or stay. Those who expressed a wish to go, should be delivered up immediately, or peace would not be made.

"Mr. Judson reached Ava at midnight; had all the foreigners called the next morning, and the question asked. Some of the members of government said to him, 'You will not leave us, you shall become a great man if you will remain.' He then secured himself from the odium of saying, that he wished to leave the service of his majesty, by recurring to the order of Sir Archibald, that whoever wished to leave Ava should be given up, and that I had expressed a wish to go, so that he of course must follow. The remaining part of the twenty-five lacks was soon collected; the prisoners at Oung-pen-la were all released, and either sent to their houses, or down the river to the English; and in two days from the time of Mr. Judson's return, we took an affectionate leave of the good natured officer who had so long entertained us at his house, and who now accompanied us to the water side, and we then left forever the banks of Ava.

"It was on a cool, moonlight evening, in the month of March, that with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy, surrounded by six or eight golden boats, and accom-

panied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp, would sometimes occur to damp our joy, for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. Nor were we mistaken in our conjectures. We reached the camp about midnight, where we were detained two hours; the Woongyee, and high officers, insisting that *we* should wait at the camp, while Dr. Price, (who did not return to Ava with your brother, but remained at the camp,) should go on with the money, and first ascertain whether peace would be made. The Burmese government still entertained the idea, that as soon as the English had received the money and prisoners, they would continue their march, and yet destroy the capital. We knew not but that some circumstance might occur to break off the negotiations; Mr. Judson therefore strenuously insisted that he would not remain, but go on immediately. The officers were finally prevailed on to consent, hoping much from Mr. Judson's assistance in making peace.

"We now, for the first time, for more than a year and a half, felt that we were free, and no longer subject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. And with what sensations of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of the steam boat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilized life. As soon as our boat reached the shore, Brigadier A. and another officer came on board, congratulated us on our arrival, and invited us on board the steam boat, where I passed the remainder of the day; while your brother went on to meet the general, who, with a detachment of the army, had encamped at Yandaboo, a few miles further down the river. Mr. Judson returned in the evening, with an invitation from Sir Archibald, to come immediately to his quarters, where I was the next morning introduced, and received with the greatest kindness by the general, who had a tent pitched for us near his own—took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country.

"We feel that our obligations to General Campbell can never be cancelled. Our final release from Ava, and our recovering all the property that had there been taken, was owing entirely to his efforts. This subsequent hospitality, and kind attention to the accommodations for our passage to Rangoon, have left an indelible impression on our minds, which can never be forgotten. We daily received the congratulations of the British officers, whose conduct towards us formed a striking contrast to that of the Burmese. I

presume to say, that no persons on earth were ever happier, than we were during the fortnight we passed at the English camp. For several days, this single idea wholly occupied my mind, that we were out of the power of the Burmese government, and once more under the protection of the English. Our feelings continually dictated expressions like these, *What shall we render unto the Lord, for all his benefits toward us.*

"The treaty of peace was soon concluded, signed by both parties, and a termination of hostilities publickly declared. We left Yandaboo, after a fortnight's residence, and safely reached the mission house in Rangoon, after an absence of two years and three months. A review of our trip to, and adventures in, Ava, often excites the inquiry, Why were we permitted to go? What good has been effected? Why did I not listen to the advice of friends in Bengal, and remain there till the war was concluded? But all that we can say, is, *It is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps.* So far as my going round to Rangoon, at the time I did, was instrumental in bringing those heavy afflictions upon us, I can only state, that if I ever acted from a sense of duty in my life, it was at that time; for my conscience would not allow me any peace, when I thought of sending for your brother to come to Calcutta, in prospect of the approaching war. Our Society at home have lost no property in consequence of our difficulties; but two years of precious time have been lost to the mission, unless some future advantage may be gained, in consequence of the severe discipline, to which we ourselves have been subject. We are sometimes induced to think, that the lesson we found so very hard to learn, will have a beneficial effect through our lives; and that the mission may, in the end, be advanced rather than retarded.

"We should have had no hesitation about remaining in Ava, if no part of the Burmese Empire had been ceded to the British. But as it was, we felt it would be an unnecessary exposure, besides the missionary field being much more limited, in consequence of intoleration. We now consider our future missionary prospects as bright indeed; and our only anxiety is, to be once more in that situation, where our time will be exclusively devoted to the instruction of the heathen."

In a concluding paragraph, dated Amherst, July 27, she adds:

"From the date, at the commencement of this long letter, you see, my dear brother, that my patience has continued for two months. I have frequently been induced to throw it aside altogether, but feeling assured that you and my other friends are expecting something of this kind, I am induced to send it with all its imperfections. This letter, dreadful as are the scenes herein described, gives you but a faint idea of the awful reality. The anguish, the agony of mind, resulting from a thousand little circumstances impossible to delineate on paper, can be known by those only, who have been in similar situations. Pray for us, my dear brother and sister, that these heavy afflictions may not be in vain, but may be blessed to our spiritual good and the advancement of Christ's church among the heathen."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Removal to Amherst—Mrs. Judson's Death.

THE following letter from Mrs. Judson is a valuable proof, that the severe sufferings and appalling dangers which she had experienced, did not abate her love for the souls of the Burmans, nor diminish her desire to go onward with the Mission. She had devoted her life to this service; and she was ready to die, whenever the sacrifice should be needful for the welfare of the heathen.

To Mrs. Chaplin, of Waterville.

"*Rangoon, April* 26, 1826.

"My dear Mrs. Chaplin,

"I live, again to write you, again to attempt a continuance of a correspondence which has been to me so valuable, and which I wish to be continued till the end of life. We have formerly *talked* of trials and privations, but for the last two years we have *felt* the full import of these words. Our bodily and mental sufferings have often been such as to cause me, in moments of despair, to exclaim, 'We shall one day perish by the hand of Saul.' But that kind Being, who has ever upheld us, has in safety brought us through so many narrow passages, that our faith assures us of being brought into a wide field at last. But, my dear

Mrs. Chaplin, I am distressed to find, that those afflictions which are often productive of much advantage to the children of God, have passed away without, I fear, leaving those salutary effects, for which I had hoped. And yet I trust the prosperity of the Burman mission, (still the dearest object of our hearts) will be promoted by those events, which have taken place the last two years. We have no longer to solicit the patronage of a haughty monarch, for the establishment of our mission, or to court the favour of the Woongyees, to prevent the persecution of the converts; but in future shall be allowed to sit under our own vine and fig tree, and call to perishing, immortal beings to listen to the glad tidings of the Gospel.

"We are now busily employed in preparing for our departure to Amherst. We shall doubtless be obliged to go through many trials, as it is a new place, and no houses yet built. But the Burmese population will be considerable, and we shall have every advantage for prosecuting the mission. Four of our Christian families have already gone, and we shall follow in a few days. My female school will, I trust, soon be in operation—then you shall hear from me constantly."

Alas! her fond anticipations were soon disappointed. The mission is indeed, we trust, to go on, until Burmah shall be converted to God. But she who had assisted in its establishment, who had largely shared in its trials and joys; and to whose firmness, intrepidity, ready presence of mind, and devoted affection, her husband and Dr. Price were indebted, under God, for the preservation of their lives, during their imprisonment at Ava, was soon to be summoned away from her toils and sufferings on earth, to the presence of her Saviour.

Letter from Mr. Judson to Dr. Bolles, the Corresponding Secretary:

"*Rangoon, March* 25, 1826.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Through the kind interposition of our heavenly Father, our lives have been preserved, in the most imminent danger, from the hand of the executioner, and in repeated instances of most alarming illness, during my protracted imprisonment of one year and seven months—nine months in three pair of fetters, two months in five, six months in one, and two months a prisoner at large. Subsequent to the latter period, I spent about six weeks in the house of the north governor of the palace, who petitioned for my release, and took me

under his charge; and finally, on the joyful 21st of February last, took leave, with Mrs. Judson and family, of the scene of our sufferings—sufferings which, it would seem, have been unavailing to answer any valuable missionary purpose, unless so far as they may have been silently blessed to our spiritual improvement and capacity for future usefulness. Let me beg your prayers that it may not be in vain, that we have been afflicted. Dr. Price remains in the service of his Burmese majesty. My intention, on leaving Ava, was to proceed to Mergui or Tavoy, ports south of Rangoon, and ceded by the treaty to the British government; but since arriving, I have found it advisable to wait a little, previous to the evacuation of this place by the British troops, with a view to settling at a new town about to be established in the neighbourhood of Martaban, on the dividing line between the British and Burman territories.

"It is supposed that all Martaban will remove to the new place, on the other side of the Salwen river. The emigration also from all the southern districts of Burmah will be great, so that the native population will far exceed that of the places first mentioned. Add to which, that it is much more centrical, and, from the superior productiveness of the adjacent country, and the facility of communication with Siam, will probably become a place of much greater trade. The matter, however, is yet quite uncertain, and the first report we have from a party who have just gone to survey the new place and make a beginning, may be decidedly unfavourable. At any rate, I intend to leave this, for some place under British government, within a month.

"The disciples and inquirers have been dispersed in all directions. Several are dead; several I found on my passage down the river, and gave them notice of my plans, in case they might wish to follow; and several are in this place waiting for some movement. Moung Shwa-ba has been in the mission house through the whole, and Moung Ing with Mrs. Judson at Ava. Moung Shwa-gnong I have been unable to find, but understood he was alive somewhere in the interior. We had a pleasant meeting with Mah Men-la and her sister Mah Doke, who were living in boats at Prome, and instantly resolved to accompany us. I long for the time when we shall be able to re-erect the standard of the Gospel, and enjoy once more the stated worship and ordinances of the Lord's house. I feel a strong desire henceforth to know nothing among this people, but Jesus

Christ and him crucified: and under an abiding sense of the comparative worthlessness of all worldly things, to avoid every secular occupation, and all literary and scientifick pursuits, and devote the remainder of my days to the simple declaration of the all-precious truth of the Gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

On the 1st of April, Mr. Judson left Rangoon, in company with Mr. Crawfurd, the Commissioner of the Governor General of India, on an exploring expedition, to a part of the territories ceded by the Burmese to the British. They proceeded up the Salwen, or Martaban river, (see map) about 30 miles, where they fixed on the site of a town, on the eastern bank, which they called Amherst, in honour of the Governor General. On this occasion, the 60th chapter of Isaiah was read by Mr. Judson, and a prayer offered. The British flag was hoisted, and other ceremonies signalized the occupation of this spot, as the seat of the English government in the newly ceded territories.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, and made immediate preparations to proceed to Amherst.

Letter from Mr. Judson to the Corresponding Secretary.

"*Rangoon, July* 31, 1826.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"At the date of my last letter, I was waiting for an opportunity of removing to Amherst. Since then, the Commissioner, Mr. Crawfurd, who is appointed to negotiate a secondary treaty with the court of Ava, renewed his proposal for me to accompany the embassy, and pledged himself, in case of my complying, to use his interest to procure the insertion of an article in the treaty, favourable to religious toleration,—an object which I have had at heart so many years, and which, though now on account of the opening in the south provinces, not so necessary as formerly, yet greatly favourable to the gradual introduction of religion, into all parts of the country, from the station which we propose occupying. With these views, I thought it my duty to accept the offer. Desirous, however, of making a commencement in the new place, as early as possible, and unwilling to disappoint the native converts, who had left this, in the full expectation of our immediately following them, I accompanied Mrs. Judson and family thither, in the end of last month, and after seeing them comfortably settled, in a temporary house belonging to Capt. Fenwick,

Civil Superintendant of the place, which he kindly vacated for Mrs. Judson's accommodation, I returned to Rangoon the 9th inst.

"The new town has made some progress during the rains. About fifty native houses—Burmese, Chinese, and Indian Musselman, and three or four Europeans, exclusive of barracks for the troops, and officers' houses, compose the infant settlement. As soon as the favourable season commences, it will increase rapidly, in consequence of large emigrations from Rangoon. Numerous villages are even now springing up, on the eastern side of the Salwen; and there can be no doubt, that the whole region will eventually be filled with a native population. The harbour of Amherst proves to be safe and commodious; large forests of teak wood have been discovered in the interior, thereby ensuring it a place of trade,—the situation of the settlement, exposed at all seasons to the sea breeze, must be healthy; and the mission, I may venture to say, will receive the decided patronage of government. The management of all the ceded provinces will probably be intrusted to Mr. Crawfurd, one of the most enlightened, intelligent, liberal men I have ever met—one most eminently qualified to discharge the highest and most responsible duties of government.

"The embassy will leave this for Ava, on the receipt of final orders from Bengal, which are daily expected. I hope that the object of the embassy will be obtained in the course of three or four months; and that I shall be able to reach Amherst and re-commence missionary operations in November next."

It was during the absence of Mr. Judson, that Mrs. Judson was seized with the fatal disorder, which terminated her life, on the 24th of October, 1826. The shocks which her constitution had received, from previous attacks of disease, and during the scenes at Ava, rendered her incapable of withstanding the violence of this last attack. She died—died in a strange place—and surrounded by strangers. Such was God's will. It would be consoling to know more of the state of her mind, during her sickness, and of her feelings in prospect of death. But she is gone. Her life was a series of proofs, that she loved the Saviour; and we may believe, with entire confidence, that she has entered into the joy of her Lord.

The following letters from her husband contain a statement of all the particulars which could be obtained concerning her last sickness and death. His feelings it would be presumptuous to attempt to describe. His letters, though he has not suffered himself to dwell on his dreadful loss, indicate so much of suppressed anguish, that every heart must be moved to sympathy.

Letter from Mr. Judson to the Corresponding Secretary.

"*Ava, Dec.* 7, 1826.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"My last was dated at Rangoon, while waiting to accompany the embassy to Ava. We were detained, until the 1st of September, and arrived here the 28th, though we were not admitted to an audience with the king, till the 20th of the ensuing month.

"In the very commencement of negotiations, I ascertained that it would be impossible to effect any thing in favour of religious toleration, in consequence of the extraordinary ground assumed by the Burmese commissioners. Reluctant, as the government has ever been, to enter into any stipulations with a foreign power, they resolved to do nothing more than they were obliged to, by the Treaty of Yandaboo. And as that required them to make a "commercial treaty," they resolved to confine the discussions to points strictly commercial; so that instead of a treaty of twenty-two articles, calculated to place the relations of the two countries on the most liberal and friendly footing, the treaty just concluded is confined to four, and those utterly insignificant.

"So far, therefore, as I had a view to the attainment of religious toleration in accompanying the embassy, I have entirely failed. I feel the disappointment more deeply on account of the many tedious delays which have already occurred, and which we anticipate during our return; so that instead of four or five months, I shall be absent from home seven or eight.

"But above all, the news of the death of my beloved wife has not only thrown a gloom over all my future prospects, but has forever imbittered the recollection of the present journey, in consequence of which, I have been absent from her dying bed, and prevented from affording the spiritual comfort which her lonely circumstances peculiarly required, and of contributing to avert the fatal catastrophe, which

has deprived me of one of the first of women, the best of wives.

"I commend myself and motherless child to your sympathy and prayers."

Letter from Mr. Judson to Mrs. Hasseltine, of Bradford, (Mass.)

"*Ava, Dec.* 7, 1826.

"Dear Mother,

"This letter, though intended for the whole family, I address particularly to you; for it is a mother's heart that will be most deeply interested in its melancholy details. I propose to give you, at different times, some account of my great irreparable loss, of which you will have heard, before receiving this letter.

"I left your daughter, my beloved wife, at Amherst, the 5th of July last, in good health, comfortably situated, happy in being out of the reach of our savage oppressors, and animated in prospect of a field of missionary labour opening under the auspices of British protection. It affords me some comfort, that she not only consented to my leaving her, for the purpose of joining the present embassy to Ava, but uniformly gave her advice in favour of the measure, whenever I hesitated concerning my duty. Accordingly, I left her. On the 5th of July, I saw her for the last time. Our parting was much less painful, than many others had been. We had been preserved through so many trials and vicissitudes, that a separation of three or four months, attended with no hazards, to either party, seemed a light thing. We parted, therefore, with cheerful hearts, confident of a speedy reunion, and indulging fond anticipations of future years of domestick happiness. After my return to Rangoon, and subsequent arrival at Ava, I received several letters from her, written in her usual style, and exhibiting no subject of regret or apprehension, except the declining health of our little daughter Maria. Her last was dated the 14th of Sept. She says, 'I have this day moved into the new house, and for the first time since we were broken up at Ava, feel myself at home. The house is large and convenient, and if you were here I should feel quite happy. The native population is increasing very fast, and things wear rather a favourable aspect. Moung Ing's school has commenced with ten scholars, and more are expected. Poor little Maria is still feeble. I sometimes hope she is getting better; then again she declines to her former weakness. When I ask her where Papa is, she always starts up and points towards

the sea. The servants behave very well, and I have no trouble about any thing, excepting you and Maria. Pray take care of yourself, particularly as it regards the intermittent fever at Ava. May God preserve and bless you, and restore you in safety to your new and old home, is the prayer of your affectionate Ann.'

"On the 3d of Oct. Capt. F——, Civil Superintendant of Amherst, writes, 'Mrs. Judson is extremely well.' Why she did not write herself by the same opportunity, I know not. On the 18th, the same gentleman writes, 'I can hardly think it right to tell you, that Mrs. Judson has had an attack of fever, as before this reaches you, she will, I sincerely trust, be quite well, as it has not been so severe as to reduce her. This was occasioned by too close attendance on the child. However, her cares have been rewarded in a most extraordinary manner, as the poor babe, at one time, was so reduced, that no rational hope could be entertained of its recovery; but at present a most favourable change has taken place, and she has improved wonderfully. Mrs. Judson had no fever last night, so that the intermission is now complete.' The tenor of this letter was such, as to make my mind quite easy, both as it regarded the mother and the child. My next communication was a letter with a black seal, handed me by a person, saying he was sorry to inform me of the death of the child. I know not whether this was a mistake on his part, or kindly intended to prepare my mind for the real intelligence. I went into my room, and opened the letter with feelings of gratitude and joy, that at any rate the mother was spared. It was from Mr. B——, Assistant Superintendant of Amherst, dated the 26th of Oct. and began thus:

"My dear Sir, to one who has suffered so much and with such exemplary fortitude, there needs but little preface to tell a tale of distress. It were cruel indeed to torture you with doubt and suspense. To sum up the unhappy tidings in a few words—*Mrs. Judson is no more.*

"At intervals, I got through with the dreadful letter, and proceed to give you the substance, as indelibly engraven on my heart.

"'Early in the month she was attacked with a most violent fever. From the first she felt a strong presentiment that she could not recover, and on the 24th, about eight in the evening, she expired. Dr. R—— was quite assiduous in his attentions, both as friend and physician. Capt. F—— procured her the services of a European woman from the

45th regiment; and be assured all was done, that could be done, to comfort her in her sufferings, and to smooth the passage to the grave. We all feel deeply the loss of this excellent lady, whose shortness of residence among us was yet sufficiently long, to impress us with a deep sense of her worth and virtues. It was not until about the 20th that Dr. R. began seriously to suspect danger. Before that period, the fever had abated at intervals; but its last approach baffled all medical skill. On the morning of the 23d, Mrs. Judson spoke for the last time. The disease had then completed its conquest, and from that time up to the moment of dissolution, she lay nearly motionless, and apparently quite insensible. Yesterday morning, I assisted in the last melancholy office of putting her mortal remains in the coffin; and in the evening her funeral was attended by all the European officers now resident here. We have buried her near the spot where she first landed; and I have put up a small rude fence around the grave to protect it from incautious intrusions.—Your little girl Maria is much better. Mrs. W—— has taken charge of her; and I hope she will continue to thrive under her care.'

"Two days later, Capt. F. writes thus to a friend in Rangoon:

"'I trust that you will be able to find means to inform our friend of the dreadful loss he has suffered. Mrs. Judson had slight attacks of fever from the 8th or 9th inst. but we had no reason to apprehend the fatal result. I saw her on the 18th, and at that time she was free from fever, scarcely if at all reduced. I was obliged to go up the country on a sudden business, and did not hear of her danger until my return, on the 24th; on which day she breathed her last at 8, P. M. I shall not attempt to give you an account of the gloom which the death of this most amiable woman has thrown over our small society. You, who were so well acquainted with her, must feel her loss more deeply; but we had just known her long enough to value her acquaintance as a blessing in this remote corner. I dread the effect it will have on poor Judson. I am sure you will take every care that this mournful intelligence may be opened to him as carefully as possible.'

"The only other communication on this subject that has reached me, is the following line from Sir Archibald Campbell to the envoy: 'Poor Judson will be dreadfully distressed at the loss of his good and amiable wife. She

died the other day at Amherst, of remittent fever, eighteen days ill.'

"You perceive, that I have no account whatever of the state of her mind, in view of death and eternity, or of her wishes concerning her darling babe, whom she loved most intensely. I hope to glean some information on these points from the physician who attended her, and the native converts who must have been occasionally present.

"I will not trouble you, my dear mother, with an account of my own private feelings—the bitter heart-rending anguish, which for some days would not admit of mitigation, and the comfort which the Gospel subsequently afforded, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which brings life and immortality to light. Blessed assurance—and let us apply it afresh to our hearts—that while I am writing and you perusing these lines, her spirit is resting and rejoicing in the heavenly paradise,

> 'Where glories shine, and pleasures roll,
> That charm, delight, transport the soul;
> And ev'ry panting wish shall be
> Possess'd of boundless bliss in thee.'

And there, my dear mother, we also soon shall be, uniting and participating in the felicities of heaven with her, for whom we now mourn. 'Amen—even so, come, Lord Jesus.'"

To the same.

"*Amherst, Feb.* 4, 1827.

"Amid the desolation that death has made, I take up my pen once more to address the mother of my beloved Ann. I am sitting in the house she built—in the room where she breathed her last—and at a window from which I see the tree that stands at the head of her grave, and the top of the "small rude fence" which they have put up "to protect it from incautious intrusion."

"Mr. and Mrs. Wade are living in the house, having arrived here about a month after Ann's death; and Mrs. Wade has taken charge of my poor motherless Maria. I was unable to get any accounts of the child at Rangoon; and it was only on my arriving here, the 24th ult. that I learned she was still alive. Mr. Wade met me at the landing place; and as I passed on to the house, one and another of the native Christians came out, and when they saw me, they began to weep. At length we reached the house; and I almost expected to see my love coming out to meet me, as usual; but no, I saw only in the arms of Mrs. Wade, a poor little puny child, who could not recognize her weep-

ing father, and from whose infant mind had long been erased all recollections of the mother who loved her so much.

"She turned away from me in alarm, and I, obliged to seek comfort elsewhere, found my way to the grave; but who ever obtained comfort there? Thence I went to the house, in which I left her; and looked at the spot where we last knelt in prayer, and where we exchanged the parting kiss.

"The doctor who attended her, has removed to another station, and the only information I can obtain, is such as the native Christians are able to communicate.

"It seems that her head was much affected, during her last days, and she said but little. She sometimes complained thus—The teacher is long in coming, and the new Missionaries are long in coming; I must die alone and leave my little one; but as it is the will of God, I acquiesce in his will. I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid I shall not be able to bear these pains. Tell the teacher that the disease was most violent, and I could not write; tell him how I suffered and died; tell him all that you see; and take care of the house and things until he returns. When she was unable to notice any thing else, she would still call the child to her and charge the nurse to be kind to it, and indulge it in every thing, until its father should return. The last day or two, she lay almost senseless and motionless, on one side—her head reclining on her arm—her eyes closed—and at 8 in the evening, with one exclamation of distress in the Burman language, she ceased to breathe.

"7. I have been on a visit to the physician who attended her in her illness. He has the character of a kind, attentive and skilful practitioner; and his communications to me have been rather consoling. I am now convinced that every thing possible was done; and that had I been present myself, I could not have essentially contributed to avert the fatal termination of the disease. The doctor was with her twice a day, and frequently spent the greater part of the night by her side. He says, that from the first attack of the fever, she was persuaded she should not recover; but that her mind was uniformly tranquil and happy in the prospect of death. She only expressed occasional regret at leaving her child, the native Christians, and the schools, before her husband or another missionary family could arrive. The last two days she was free from pain. On her attention being roused by reiterated questions, she

replied, "I feel quite well, only very weak." These were her last words.

"The doctor is decidedly of opinion that the fatal termination of the fever is not to be ascribed to the localities of the new settlement, but chiefly to the weakness of her constitution, occasioned by severe privations and long protracted sufferings which she endured at Ava. Oh, with what meekness, patience, magnanimity, and christian fortitude, she bore those sufferings! And can I wish they had been less? Can I sacrilegiously wish to rob her crown of a single gem? Much she saw and suffered of the evil of this evil world; and eminently was she qualified to relish and enjoy the pure and holy rest into which she has entered. True, she has been taken from a sphere, in which she was singularly qualified, by her natural disposition, her winning manners, her devoted zeal, and her perfect acquaintance with the language, to be extensively serviceable to the cause of Christ; true, she has been torn from her husband's bleeding heart, and from her darling babe; but infinite wisdom and love have presided, as ever, in this most afflicting dispensation. Faith decides, that it is all right, and the decision of faith, eternity will soon confirm.

"I have only time to add (for I am writing in great haste, with very short notice of the present opportunity of sending to Bengal) that poor little Maria, though very feeble, is, I hope, recovering from her long illness. She began indeed to recover, while under the care of the lady who kindly took charge of her, at her mother's death; but when after Mr. Wade's arrival she was brought back to this house, she seemed to think that she had returned to her former home, and had found in Mrs. Wade her own mother. And certainly the most tender, affectionate care is not wanting to confirm her in this idea."

But there was yet in reserve another trial, to add bitterness to the cup of his sorrow. The poor motherless child survived but a few months. Her father thus announced her death

To Mrs. Judson's Mother.

"*Amherst, April* 26, 1827.

"Dear Mother Hasseltine,

"My sweet little Maria lies by the side of her fond mother. The complaint, to which she was subject several months, (an affection of the bowels) proved incurable. She had the best medical advice; and the kind care of Mrs.

Wade could not have been, in any respect, exceeded by that of her own mother. But all our efforts, and prayers, and tears, could not propitiate the cruel disease. The work of death went forward; and after the usual process, excruciating to a parent's feelings, she ceased to breathe, on the 24th inst. at three o'clock, P. M. aged two years and three months. We then closed her faded eyes, and bound up her discoloured lips, where the dark touch of death first appeared, and folded her little hands—the exact pattern of her mother's, on her cold breast. The next morning, we made her last bed, in the small enclosure which surrounds her mother's lonely grave. Together they rest in hope, under the hope tree, (Hopia) which stands at the head of the graves: and together, I trust, their spirits are rejoicing, after a short separation of precisely six months.

"Thus I am left alone in the wide world. My father's family, and all my relatives, have been, for many years, separated from me, by seas that I shall never repass. They are the same to me as if buried. My own dear family I have actually buried: one in Rangoon, and two in Amherst. What remains for me, but to hold myself in readiness to follow the dear departed to that blessed world,

'Where my best friends, my kindred dwell,
'Where God, my Saviour, reigns?'"

The following letter, though written at a later period, may properly be introduced here:

To Mrs. Judson's Sisters.

"*Maulaming, Dec.* 4, 1827.

"My dear Sisters,

"It is a most affecting thought to me, that when you were expressing your feelings for my poor motherless Maria, and requesting that she might be sent home,—that very day, perhaps hour, death was laying his stiffening hand on her little emaciated form, and turning a deaf, pitiless ear to the supplications of her agonized father, and the yearning wishes of dear distant relatives. Death mocks at us, and tramples our dearest hopes and our lives in the dust. Dreadful tyrant, offspring and ally of sin! But go on now, and do thy worst. Thy time will come. The last enemy that shall be destroyed, is death. Yes, awful power, thou shalt devour thyself and die. And then my angelick Ann, and my meek blue-eyed Roger, and my tender-hearted, affectionate, darling Maria,—my venerable father, you, my dear sisters, that still remain, our still sur-

viving parents, and I hope, myself, though all unworthy, shall be rescued from the power of death and the grave; and when the crown of life is set on our heads, and we know assuredly, that we shall die no more, we shall make heaven's arches ring with songs of praise to Him, who hath loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood.

"It is also an affecting thought, that when sister M. was writing hers of the 24th of October, 1826,—that very day, perhaps hour, the object of her sisterly love was just becoming incapable of reciprocating the affectionate salutation. Her head was reclining on her arm. She was thinking, I doubt not, of her absent husband, her distant parents and sisters; and above all, of her poor sickly orphan child, whose plaintive cries she could no more hush. And she thought, I doubt not, of her Saviour, and the heavenly glory that was just opening to her view. But on all these subjects, a cloud of darkness must ever rest, till dispelled by the light of heaven. All my questioning of the people who were about her dying bed, has been able to elicit no other particulars, besides those which I have already communicated.

"You ask many questions, in A.'s letter of March 23, about our sufferings at Ava; but how can I answer them now? There would be some pleasure in reviewing those scenes, if she were alive; but now I cannot. The only pleasant reflection—the only one that assuages the anguish of retrospection, is, that she now rests far away, where no spotted faced executioner can fill her heart with terrour; where no unfeeling magistrate can extort the scanty pittance which she had preserved through every risk, to sustain her fettered husband and famishing babe; no more exposed to lie on a bed of languishment, and stung with the uncertainty, what would become of her poor husband and child, when she was gone. No, she has her little ones around her, I trust, and has taught them to praise the source whence their deliverance flowed. Yes, her little son, his soul enlarged to angel's size, was perhaps the first to meet her at heaven's portals, and welcome his mother to his own abode. And her daughter followed her in six short months. Had she remained, it seems to me impossible to have complied with your request, and sent her far from me over the seas.

"How happy should I be to find myself once more, in the bosom of the family in Bradford, and tell you ten thou-

sand things that I cannot put on paper. But this will never be. Nor is it of much consequence. A few more rolling suns, and you will hear of my death, or I of yours. Till then, believe me your most affectionate brother. And when we meet in heaven—when all have arrived, and we find all safe, forever safe, and our Saviour ever safe and glorious, and in him, all his beloved—oh shall we not be happy, and ever praise Him who has endured the cross to wear and confer such a crown!"

There is a moral sublimity in the feelings which these letters disclose. Here are the workings of the strongest conjugal affection, and the tenderest parental love. Here, too, are the triumphs of a faith which looks beyond the grave; and the consolations of a hope which gathers brightness from sorrow. Many hearts, we trust, are accustomed to remember this bereaved husband and father, at the throne of mercy. May the grace of his Saviour ever be sufficient for him; and strengthen him to go onward in his missionary work, till he shall finish his course, and wear the crown.

The following lines, written by Mrs. Boardman, on the death of the little Maria, may be appropriately introduced here. They possess much poetick merit. But the tender, pious feeling which pervades them, enhances their value:

Ah! this is Death, my innocent, 'tis he,
Whose chilling hand has touch'd thy tender frame.
With placid feeling, we behold thee still,
For thou art lovely in his cold embrace—
Serene thy whiten'd brow,—and thy mild eye,
Ting'd with a deeper blue, than when in health.
Thy trembling lips are pale—thy bosom throbs;
Yet still we weep not—for full well we know,
This agitation is thy soul's release,
From its low tenement, to mount above.
Thou heed'st us not; not e'en the bursting sigh
Of thy dear father, now can pierce thine ear.
And yet that look, that supplicating glance,
What would it crave? what wouldst thou ask, my love?
Has e'er thy father told thee of a spot,
A dwelling place from human ken concealed?
A mansion where the weary, and the sad,
And broken hearted, find a sweet repose?
And has he told thee in that resting place,
There calmly slumbers one, whose gentle hand,
From earliest infancy, supplied thy wants?
Whose bosom was thy pillow; and whose eye
Forever beam'd on thee, with fondest love?
And wouldst thou seek thy mother in the grave?
(For 'tis the grave I speak of)—*there* is rest—

And thou art weary, love, and need'st repose.
Though short thy life, full many a day of pain,
And night of restlessness, has been thy lot.
Born in a heathen land,—far, far remov'd
From all thy parents lov'd, in former years—
When thou first saw'st the light, these were not there,
To kneel beside thy mother, and implore
Blessings upon thy little head, and sing
The song of gratitude, and joy, and praise.
Strangers were there; strangers to truth and peace;
Strangers to feeling; strangers to her God.
Thy father came not then to kiss his babe,
And glad the heart of her who gave thee birth.
Alas! a loathsome, dark, and dreary cell
Was his abode,—anxiety his guest.
Thy mother's tale, replete with varied scenes,
Exceeds my powers to tell; but other harps,
And other voices, sweeter far than mine,
Shall sing her matchless worth, her deeds of love,
Her zeal, her toils, her sufferings, and her death.
But all is over now. She sweetly sleeps,
In yonder new-made grave; and thou, sweet babe,
Shalt soon be softly pillowed on her breast.
Yes, ere to-morrow's sun shall gild the west,
Thy father shall have said a long adieu,
To the last ling'ring hope of earthly joy:
Thy throbbings will have ceas'd; thine eye be closed;
And thou, Maria, wilt have found thy rest.
Thy flesh shall rest in hope, till that great day,
When He who once endur'd far greater woes
Than mortal man can know; who when on earth,
Receiv'd the little children to his arms,
Graciously blessing them, shall come again:
Shall come—not in the garb of sinful man,
But cloth'd in majesty, array'd in power.
Then shall thy dust arise—nor thine alone;
But all who sleep, shall wake and rise with thee.
Then, like the glorious body of thy Lord,
Who wakes thy dust, this fragile frame shall be.
Then shalt thou mount with him on angel's wings;
Be freed from sorrow, sickness, sin and death,
And in his presence, find eternal bliss.

Those who have followed, thus far, this eventful narrative, do not need any comment to assist them to form an estimate of Mrs. Judson. We cannot refrain, however, from taking notice of two or three prominent points of her character.

Her habitual piety is the most lovely and important trait. It was not an official devotion, assumed on particular occasions. It was not a flame which blazed up brightly at rare and uncertain intervals. She was every where and at all times, the Christian and the Missionary.—She walked with God. Her secret journals, in which she recorded her thoughts, with no witness but the Searcher of hearts; her

most private letters, in which she poured out her feelings without reserve, are marked by even more of the fervour and humility of piety than her publick writings. Religion was the chosen theme of her conversation; and it is known that she spent much time in secret devotion. The hopes of religion supported her in her appalling sufferings; and the love of Christ constrained her to persevere unto death in her efforts to lead the poor wanderers of Burmah to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls.

Her unwearied perseverance is another characteristick. Something of this may be attributed to her natural temperament; but it is mainly to be ascribed to the ardour of her desire for the salvation of men. We have seen her, amid perplexities, disease and danger, pressing steadily onward towards the great object to which her life was devoted. The state of her health repeatedly forced her away from the scene of her labours; but she returned the moment that her recruited strength would permit. The tumults of war and the exasperated barbarity of the government, subjected her and her associates to sufferings unparalleled in the history of modern missions. But as soon as peace returned, instead of flying from a country where she had endured so much, and where her benevolent toils had been so cruelly requited, her first thoughts were directed to the re-establishment of the mission.

Of her intellectual powers, it is needless to say any thing. Her actions and her writings furnish ample evidence of superior talents.

It would be proper to say something in this place, of her person, her manners, and her private character. On these points, however, we can say little from personal knowledge, as the author had but once the pleasure of an interview with her. The portrait prefixed to this volume is thought by her friends, to be a correct resemblance of her, as she appeared during her last visit to the United States. In her manners, there was much unaffected dignity: but she was affable; and there was an attractive grace in her conversation, resulting from the union of mental strength with feminine affections. Her dispositions were kind, and her benevolence warm, active, and unwearied. Her constitutional temperament was ardent, and may sometimes have had too much influence over her feelings. The important and sorrowful scenes through which she passed, calling for decision, activity, energy, and fortitude,

were less favourable than the sheltered and quiet retirement of domestick life, for the cultivation of the softer and the gentler qualities; and their effect may have been perceptible in her character. But a woman, placed in her situation, and tasked with her duties, is not to be judged by any ordinary standard. We appeal, with confidence, to the course of her life, to her journals and letters, and to those persons, of kindred minds and feelings, who have conversed with her, for ample testimony to the warmth of her affections, to her affability, modesty, and meekness, as well as to the strength of her intellect, and the ardour of her zeal for the welfare of mankind. Envy, with its acute vision, and calumny, with its open ear and ready tongue, although they have assailed her, have never insinuated a doubt of the purity of her life. She was a mark for malice, aimed, not at her, but at the cause of her Saviour. The reproaches which were meant for him, fell on her. But she was content to suffer for his sake. And she felt, that she was imperfect. Her journals and letters exhibit numerous proofs of her acquaintance with her own heart, and of her deep grief for the deficiency of her holiness. But she is perfect now; and doubtless she looks back upon her life on earth with adoring wonder, and gratitude for the grace of her Saviour, who pardoned her sins, and made her useful in his service, and conducted her, at last, by many a rough path, and through many deep waters, to the rest which remaineth for the people of God.

It appears a most mysterious and afflictive dispensation, that she was summoned away, at the moment when the prospects of the mission seemed the most inviting. She had become familiar with the language; and she had acquired much experience. She had arrived at a spot, where she could without restraint employ all her influence for the spiritual benefit of the heathen. But God saw fit to remove her; for her work was done. She had not lived in vain. Five converted Burmans had gone before her to heaven. Her name will be remembered in the churches of Burmah, in future times, when the pagodas of Gaudama shall have fallen; when the spires of christian temples shall gleam along the waters of the Irrawaddy and the Salwen; and when the golden city shall have lifted up her gates to let the King of Glory in. Let us hope, meanwhile, that her bright example will inspire many others with the generous resolution to toil and to die, like her, for the salvation of the heathen.

CHAPTER XIX.

Progress of the Mission after Mrs. Judson's Death—Mr. Boardman joins the Mission—Dr. Price's Death.

We have not heretofore found a suitable opportunity to mention the appointment, by the Baptist Board of Missions in America, of the Rev. George D. Boardman and wife, as Missionaries to Burmah. Mr. Boardman, while at the College at Waterville (Maine) was excited by the death of the lamented Colman, to a desire to offer himself for the service of the Saviour in Burmah. He was gladly received by the Board, but it was thought expedient that he should spend some time longer in this country, in the prosecution of some important branches of study. He finally sailed, with his wife, from Philadelphia, July 16, 1825, and arrived in Calcutta, December 23. As the war in Burmah continued to rage, they joined Mr. and Mrs. Wade, then in Calcutta, in the study of the Burman language, preparatory to the re-commencement of missionary efforts, after the termination of hostilities.

On the 22d of September, 1826, Mr. and Mrs. Wade sailed from Calcutta for Rangoon. After a long and dangerous passage, they arrived there, on the 9th of November, where they received the intelligence of Mrs. Judson's death. They found Rangoon in confusion, a large portion of the population being about to remove to Amherst. On the 20th of November, they left Rangoon for Amherst, where they arrived on the 23d. Mr. Wade says, in his journal:

"As soon as we were anchored, I came on shore to find a house. While walking through the native part of the town, Moung Shwa-ba met me. I scarcely ever felt greater pleasure in meeting a friend from whom I had been long separated. With him I also found Moung Ing, one of the Christians whom I had never seen before. They immediately gave me an account of Mrs. Judson's death, in a manner which showed how much they loved her, and how deeply they mourned her death. Moung Shwa-ba and Moung Ing went with me to her house, which (as it is unoccupied) I shall take possession of till Mr. Judson's return; but we shall not leave the vessel to-night, as the sun is already down.

"24. This morning came on shore with Mrs. W. The four Burman Christians, Moung Shwa-ba, Moung Ing, Mah Men-la, and Mah Doke, spent nearly the whole day with us, and assisted in procuring such things as were necessary for our immediate use. They gave us some account of their several adventures since they were separated from us at the taking of Rangoon, and it was delightful to hear them ascribe their preservation, while wandering, and their being brought together again, to the overruling providence of God. They said it was their prayer daily that the disciples and teachers might meet again—God had answered their prayers—therefore their hearts were glad. I think they have made very good progress in the knowledge of divine truth; and, by their firm attachment to the christian religion, and perseverance therein under so many various circumstances, have proved themselves the real disciples of Jesus.

"25. We went out early this morning to see Mrs. Judson's grave; it is about fifty rods from the house, under a large tree, and surrounded by a small enclosure. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul gives the mind inexpressible comfort while we are looking upon the graves of our departed christian friends. They live and are enjoying inconceivably more of happiness than they did in their best circumstances while in the body. In putting off their flesh, they have put off all their burdens, and they rest in God.

"The little daughter which Mrs. Judson left, was by her request committed to the care of Mrs. Whitlock, the wife of a military officer, and the only European lady then in the place. We have offered to take the child under our care; its health is very precarious.

"26. Sabbath. About ten in the morning the disciples, together with a number of other Burmans, came to our house for divine worship, forming an assembly, with Mrs. Wade and myself, of fourteen persons. Moung Shwa-ba commenced the worship in Burman, by reading a portion of the sacred Scriptures; after which he made a prayer. When this was finished, Moung Ing read a chapter, expounded different parts of it, and closed the services by prayer. I took the opportunity of conversing as well as I was able with some of those who have not yet professed themselves disciples, but seem desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the christian religion. The exercises of the day were very pleasant, and were rendered doubly so by being the first time we have been permitted to meet in worship

with any christian friends since we left Calcutta, about two months and a half.

"*Dec.* 16. Moung Bo, a Burman who was formerly acquainted with the Missionaries in Rangoon, called and spent some time in dispute. He thinks much of his own knowledge, and is ready to assume or deny almost any proposition for the sake of argument. The dispute was, chiefly, whether Gaudama, allowing him to possess all the attributes and perfections which are ascribed to him in the sacred books, is worthy of supreme adoration. I undertook to prove, that according to their own system, Gaudama was no better than thousands of others who made no pretensions to divine honours. I said, your sacred books teach that all merit, and all demerit will eventually meet their exact reward. He said, "true." What then is the greatest possible reward? "Nigban," (i e. annihilation.) But have not thousands of others obtained this reward as well as Gaudama? "True." Then their merit must have been the same, because they obtained the same final reward, and therefore they were equally deserving of divine honours. He could give no reasons against the conclusiveness of the argument. I took occasion to speak of the nature of rewards and punishments as taught in the sacred Scriptures, and particularly of the nature of future happiness; that the inhabitants of heaven were entirely free from sin, and of course exempt from all evil, as evil is entirely the result of sin. He then said, "That is the proper idea of Nigban; Nigban is not annihilation, but rest."

"17. Sabbath. Moung Bo came to-day to worship, and brought another Burman with him; we had much conversation after worship, in which I was assisted by Moung Shwa-ba, and Moung Ing; but as Moung Bo is going to Madras within a few days, we shall not probably have his attendance hereafter.

"*Jan.* 14. Sabbath. Worship with the Burmans as usual; a woman of about ninety years of age called in accidentally, and remained during the services; she probably never heard of a Saviour before to-day.

"25. Mr. Judson this day arrived in Amherst. It is impossible to describe the mingled emotions of pleasure and pain which the meeting produced."

We have again the pleasure of presenting to our readers some extracts from Mr. Judson's journal:

"*Jan.* 24, 1827. Arrived at Amherst, and detached myself from the suite of the Envoy. Was happy to find that Mr. and Mrs. Wade had previously arrived, and were occupying the house built by Mrs. Judson. Mrs. Wade had also taken charge of my daughter Maria, now two years old. As I passed from the landing place to the house, the native Christians came out to meet me; and they welcomed me with the voice of lamentation, for my presence reminded them of the great loss they had sustained in the death of Mrs. Judson. There are four only in the place, Moung Shwa-ba, and Moung Ing, Mah Men-la, and Mah Doke. The rest of the baptized are scattered in different parts of the country. The teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, died of the cholera, on his way down from Ava, at the close of the war. Three of the disciples remained in Rangoon, until the place was evacuated by the British, and then failed in their attempts to obtain a passage hither.

"On our way, we stopped a few days at Rangoon. The place was invested by the Peguese, who have raised the standard of rebellion, and taken possession of several towns in the lower part of the country. From one of the highest roofs within the stockade, I obtained a view of the mission house, which afforded us shelter so many years. It is now quite in ruins, nothing remaining but the posts and part of the roof. All the houses in the suburbs and by the river side are completely swept away. It is not probable, however, that the Peguese will succeed in establishing their independence, or even in getting possession of Rangoon.

"We find Amherst in a state of decay, in consequence of Sir Archibald Campbell having fixed his head-quarters at Maulaming, twenty-five miles up the river. Most of the Burmese emigrants have settled in that vicinity. But as the river is not navigable for vessels of any size, Amherst must be the port; and as soon as it receives the fostering care of government, will probably become a flourishing town.

"28, Lord's day. This day I recommenced worship in Burmese, after an intermission of two years and a half. About twenty persons were present; and among the rest, Mah Loon-byay, wife of a French trader from Rangoon, settled in this place. She has been, for some months, in the habit of meeting with the native Christians, for the purpose of worship.

"*Feb.* 3. Attended the funeral of Abby, daughter of Moung Shwa-ba. She and her elder sister Mary were

the first girls with which Mrs. Judson commenced the female school, previous to the late war. They have been with us ever since. Mrs. Wade intends to go on with the school, and has now several girls under her care.

"4, Lord's day. Worship as last Lord's day. Commenced commenting on the Epitome of the Old Testament. In the evening, administered the Lord's supper. Seven communicants present.

"10. A few days ago, went up to Maulaming, to pay my respects to Sir Archibald Campbell, and also to obtain an interview with Dr. R. who attended Mrs. Judson, in her last illness. Sir Archibald encourages our removing to his favourite station; but as we were already settled here, we feel disposed to wait a little, until we see what the supreme government intend to do for the place.

"11, Lord's day. After worship, had some particular conversation with Mah Loon-byay, who intimated her wish to become a full disciple, by being baptized. Endeavoured to explain to her the necessity of the new birth, without which, baptism would avail her nothing.

"13. At the evening meeting, which is attended by the native Christians, Tuesdays and Fridays, Moung Ing expressed his desire to undertake a missionary excursion to Tavoy and Mergui. We were all particularly pleased with the proposal, as originating with himself, and indicating a state of mind, peculiarly favourable to the spread of the Gospel.

"25, Lord's day. After the usual worship, we set apart Moung Ing for the work to which, we trust, he is called by the Spirit of God, appointing him a preacher of the Gospel, and teacher of the Christian religion, without the charge of any church, or power to administer the ordinances,—an appointment similar to that, which, in our churches, commonly precedes ordination as a pastor or evangelist in the higher sense of the word. And being thus committed to the grace of God, he embarked in a boat, bound to Tavoy. May the Divine Spirit accompany and guide and prosper the first Burman teacher, we have ever sent forth.

"*March* 13. Received a letter from Moung Ing, dated the 2d inst. informing us of his arrival at Tavoy, five days from this place; and of his attempts to communicate the Gospel to the boat people, who listened in silence, without contradicting or reviling.

"*April* 14. We have been much occupied of late, in completing the mat houses which Mrs. Judson had begun,

and in clearing away the trees and underwood, in the vicinity of the mission premises. We have now room for myself and brother Wade's family, and have nearly finished a house for the female school, which will also afford temporary accommodation for brother Boardman's family on their first arrival.

"The case of Mah Loon-byay has become very encouraging. In her latest conversation with Mrs. Wade, she gave considerable evidence of having received the grace of God. One of her daughters, about twelve years old, professes to be anxious for the salvation of her soul, and desirous of becoming a disciple of Jesus Christ.

"A letter from Moung Ing informs us, that after remaining a few days at Tavoy, he proceeded by sea to Mergui, his former residence. He met with a favourable hearing from several individuals at Tavoy; and one householder said it would be a good plan to build a zayat by the wayside, for the preaching of the Gospel.

"20. Returned from Maulaming, whither I went in quest of medical aid for my daughter, accompanied by Mrs. Wade. Happy to meet Mr. Boardman and family, who had arrived during our absence.

"22, Lord's day. Three hopeful inquirers, beside Mah Loon-byay, deserve notice,—Moung Dwah, husband of Mah Doke,—Moung Thah-pyoo, a poor man, belonging to Moung Shwa-ba,—and Moung Myat-poo, son-in-law of a Peguese chief, who emigrated from Rangoon, with his followers, and died in this place. They have regularly attended worship on Lord's days, and thereby manifested some regard to religion. At the close of the discourse today, which treated of the wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, which Christ is to all believers, Moung Myat-poo broke out into some audible expressions of satisfaction. This led to some conversation after worship, in which he professed a desire to know more of this religion; for, said he, the more I understand it, the better I like it.

"24. My little daughter Maria breathed her last, aged two years and three months, and her emancipated spirit fled, I trust, to the arms of her fond mother.

"26, Lord's day. In consequence of the funeral, several of our Burmese acquaintance in the village came a few evenings in succession, according to their custom: and I endeavoured to improve the opportunity, in preaching to them Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life. Three respectable men, friends of Myat-poo, were of the number.

They all came again to-day, and attended both morning and evening worship. They profess to be quite convinced of the truth of the Christian religion; but I fear they are deficient in true repentance.

"30. A letter from Moung Ing informs us of his arrival at Mergui. He conducts publick worship every Lord's day, and has commonly four or five auditors, some of whom also attend the daily family worship. His present residence being very obscure, he is about building a small house by the way side, which will cost, he says, fourteen or fifteen rupees; and among other means of attracting company, he proposes to prepare and suspend a religious writing, in front of his house. But, he adds, while man devises, God's pleasure alone will be accomplished; and under this impression, he desires to persevere in his work.

"*May* 6, Lord's day. Had a long conversation with Mah Loon-byay, in which we became satisfied, that she is a subject of renewing grace. She received her first religious impressions in Rangoon, several years ago, during a season of great domestick affliction, when, not finding any comfort at the Roman Catholick church, to which, in consequence of some of her ancestors being of foreign extraction, she considered herself attached, she began to visit at the mission house. After her removal to Amherst, her former impressions were deepened; and though her religious experience has never been so clear and decided as that of some others, we trust that she is a growing Christian, and ought to be admitted to those sources of nourishment, which the Great Shepherd has provided for the sustenance of his flock.

"Moung Myat-poo, mentioned April 22d and 29th, was present, as usual, at worship, but not accompanied by his three friends. From being a noisy, talkative man, of assumed airs and consequence, he has become quiet, and modest, and docile. Mah Men-la, who lives near him, speaks in his favour. She says, that ever since he began to attend worship, he has forsaken the habits of intemperance he had contracted, and spends much of his time in reading our books, and conversing on religious subjects.

"8. Returned from a visit to brother Boardman at Maulaming, who went up a few days ago, on account of Mrs. Boardman's health, and now thinks of remaining there for the present. Sir Archibald having offered us

ground for a mission station, we fixed upon a site about three quarters of a mile south of the cantonments, commanding a view of the river, and contiguous to a large native town.

"15. In the evening, at the stated prayer meeting, the case of Mah Loon-byay was laid before the church, and we agreed to receive her into fellowship, on being baptized.

"20, Lord's day. Mah Loon-byay was accordingly baptized.

"26. Brother Boardman and family have been with us a few days, during which we have discussed many points relative to our missionary operations, and made some arrangements concerning the outward affairs of the mission."

Letter from Mr. Judson to the Rev. Mr. Sharp.

"*Amherst, May* 5, 1827.

"My dear Sir,

"The fate of this port is still more dubious, in consequence of Sir Archibald Campbell's having fixed his head quarters at Maulaming, twenty-five miles up the river, and of the uncertainty whether Mr. Crawfurd, or any person interested in the prosperity of Amherst, will be placed in civil charge here.

"When I first determined on settling here, it was understood, that all the heads of government were unanimous in the purpose of making this the capital of the ceded provinces: but Sir Archibald pronounced Maulaming the best military station, and the whole tide of Burmese emigration has flowed thither.

"On brother Wade's arrival, and my return from Ava, as we had a house here which Mrs. Judson had begun, we continued to occupy it, and wait for the openings of Providence. On brother Boardman's arrival, he had occasion to go up to Maulaming, to obtain medical assistance for Mrs. Boardman; and according to an arrangement we have made, he will probably remain there for the present.

"The expense of building such mat houses as our present necessities require, is not large. We have spent about three hundred dollars in Amherst, and have sufficient accommodation for myself and brother Wade's family, besides a commodious zayat for the female school. And even

this appropriation has not been made from the funds furnished from America, but from donations made us for the express purpose of building. Since the close of the war, I have been able, from money paid me by the British government, presents lately made me at Ava, and donations to the mission, to pay into the funds of the Board above four thousand dollars; which, after deducting such expenses as our regulations allow, (together with the last donation from Madras,) I have remitted to Mr. Pearce, of Calcutta.

"The long interruption of our missionary work, occasioned by our troubles at Ava, the domestick calamities which have since overwhelmed me in quick succession, and the hitherto unfavourable circumstances of Amherst, have operated to prevent my returning with much ardour to my usual occupations. I am, however, endeavouring to do a little. We have a small assembly of twenty-five or thirty, on Lord's days; and our daily family worship is not unfrequently attended by a few inquirers. One woman desires to profess our religion, and has lately given some satisfactory evidence, that she is sincere. A few respectable men declare themselves convinced of the truth of the Christian religion; but we discern yet no traces of the renewing influences of the Spirit on their hearts.

"Three only of the Rangoon converts are now with us. The rest are dead or scattered in different parts of the country. So far as I have been able to ascertain the circumstances of those who died in my absence, and those who still remain, I believe that, with the exception of two, who were excluded from the church in Rangoon, for neglecting to attend worship, none of the baptized have disgraced their holy profession. I do not of course speak of two or three cases which required temporary church discipline. Moung Ing lately went on a mission to Mergui, (Bide) the place of his former residence, where he has set up Christian worship; and has, he writes me, several inquirers."

Mr. Boardman, in the following letter to the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Bolles, gives an account of his proceedings and prospects:

"*Amherst, May* 25, 1827.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"We left Calcutta on the 19th of March, and arrived here on the 17th of April. Mr. Wade was alone at the mission house, Mr. Judson and Mrs. Wade having gone up to

Maulaming for the benefit of little Maria Judson's health. They returned on the 20th, but the poor child survived but four or five days. Thus one of the first things we had to do, after reaching our station, was to entomb another of our little number. Brother Judson is deeply afflicted; but he submits quietly.

"Soon as our mutual salutations were over, and a suitable opportunity offered itself, I requested the brethren to advise me, as to my future course. The result is, that we have concluded to have two mission stations in this region; one at Amherst, and one at Maulaming. Mr. Wade will remain at the former, and I shall go to the latter, while Mr. Judson will go from one station to the other for the present, as duty seems to call. The two stations are twenty-five miles apart, on the same river, so that the intercourse between them will be constant, and, in general, daily. As I could hire no house in Maulaming, the brethren advised me to erect a small bamboo house, which I am doing. The house will be finished in a few days, when I expect to remove my family into it. The native population of Maulaming is supposed to be about twenty thousand. One year ago, it was all a thick jungle, without an inhabitant. The population of Amherst is not nearly so great, but there is a prospect of its increasing. If it should not, the brethren in Amherst will probably remove to Maulaming after the rains. Sir Archibald Campbell has been so kind as to offer me a large and beautiful spot of ground, sufficient for a large mission establishment. It is a mile south of the military cantonments. On this spot I am erecting the bamboo house, above-mentioned. It will probably cost between two hundred, and two hundred and fifty rupees, with the necessary outhouses, enclosure, &c.

"Although our prospects are not so settled as we could wish, there still being no small uncertainty in regard to the future measures of the English Government, yet my dear companion and myself feel more than we have ever felt, that we have reached the scene of our future labours. These are people for whom we are willing to labour, and to die. May divine grace prepare our hearts for the arduous and responsible work in which we are now about to engage."

After the termination of the war, Dr. Price returned to Ava. His medical skill procured for him the favour of the emperor and of the nobility; and he had frequent opportunities of conversing with them on the subject of religion.

He took under his tuition a number of boys, the sons of some of the highest officers of government, to whom he communicated the truths of the Gospel, as well as the principles of science. He was fully persuaded, that his situation would enable him to serve the cause of the Redeemer, with great success. His journals narrate several interesting conversations with the emperor and other individuals, in which he was allowed to state the doctrines of the Gospel, and to assail directly the principles of Boodhism. He was, too, encouraged to believe, that the instructions which he imparted by publick lectures and by private conversations, on astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and other branches of science, would indirectly tend to shake the popular system of faith, which, in Burmah, as in all other heathen countries, is closely connected with erroneous and absurd notions of science.

But while advancing in this course of usefulness, cheered by some tokens of good, and allured forward by hopes of success, his health failed. A pulmonary consumption fixed itself upon his system, and after a lingering disease, this zealous and highly valued Missionary died, near Ava, on the 14th of February, 1828.

CHAPTER XX.

Present State of the Mission—New Station formed at Tavoy.

The progress and the present state of the Mission, will be learned by the following extracts from the journals of Mr. Judson and his associates. Mr. Judson says:

"*Amherst, July* 3, 1827. For a month past, I have been chiefly employed in revising the New Testament, in several points which were not satisfactorily settled, when the translation was made. Have also completed two catechisms for the use of Burman schools, the one astronomical, in thirty eight questions and answers; the other geographical, in eighty-nine, accompanied by a map of the world, with Burman names.

"5. Commenced a translation of the Book of Psalms.

"9. Received letters from Moung Ing, dated Mergui, June 12th, in which he says, that he is preaching the Gos-

pel to all he meets, in the streets—in houses—in zayats. Some contradict, some revile, some say, these words are good, but the religion is too hard for us.

"Among several little incidents mentioned by Moung Ing, I select the following:—"One day I met a woman who praised the meritorious efficacy of religious offerings. I preached to her the vanity of such offerings, and the truth of Jesus Christ. The woman repeated my words to her husband. Soon after, as I was passing by, the husband called me in, and invited me to preach there. Next Sunday I went to the house, and found they had invited about fifteen of the neighbours to hear me preach. In the midst of preaching some rose up and went away, some staid and listened till I had finished, among whom there are three or four persons who continue to appear well. The householder's name is Moung Pyoo, and his wife's name, Mah Thwai." One Moung Nwai, also, a man of Portuguese extraction, appears to be a sincere inquirer.

"One of us having been requested by a friend in Bengal, to procure a collection of sea-shells, we mentioned it in writing to Moung Ing, to which he replies in a postscript: "In regard to what you say about sea-shells, if I can conveniently collect some, I will do so; but as this is a worldly concern, I shall not bestow any effort upon it, and probably shall not effect much"—a resolution, not perhaps unworthy the attention of Missionaries of a higher order.

"*Maulaming, Aug.* 12, Lord's day. Yesterday came up to this place on a visit to brother Boardman. To-day, attempted publick worship as usual; but had no native worshipper, except Moung Myat-poo, from Amherst. He staid the greater part of the day, and gave considerable evidence of being truly attached to religion. In the afternoon, Moung Tan-lay, a native chief, in this village, and Moung Mau, brother Boardman's teacher, of whom he has a little hope, came in, and listened with some attention.

"15. Spent several hours with Moung Bo, an old Rangoon acquaintance, in discussing the external evidences of the Christian religion. Some of the arguments appeared to convince his understanding, but his heart remains unaffected.

"19, Lord's day. Had a novel assembly of thirteen, all, except Moung Mau, ignorant of the first principles of Christianity. They paid uncommon attention, and proposed several questions, which occasioned a desultory and animated conversation of some hours. One old Pharisee

expressed his fear, that all his good works were nugatory, and declared his sincere desire to know the real truth.

"*Sept.* 9, Lord's day. Still at Maulaming, as we have nearly given up all hope of Amherst's becoming a town, since Mr. Crawfurd has declined the government of these provinces.

"16, Lord's day. Had an assembly of about a dozen. One man, by name Moung Pan-pyoo, a sedate, steady person, and a strict observer of the Boodhist religion, listened and conversed in such a manner, as raised some hope, that he is well disposed towards the truth.

"This morning heard of the death of our excellent sister, Mah Men-la, at Amherst; an event, which we have been expecting for several days. She was taken ill before I left Amherst, with a species of dropsy. When her case became dangerous, she was removed to the mission house; 'after which,' says a letter, dated Sept. 3d, 'she indulged but little hope of recovery. She therefore made her will, and gave up every worldly care. In her will, she bequeathed 50 rupees to her brother, the husband of Mah Doke, 150 to the Missionaries, and the remainder, (200 perhaps) to her two adopted boys, with the exception of a few articles to a niece in Rangoon, and a few other articles to be given away in charity. She has left the boys in our charge, most earnestly desiring and praying, that they may be brought up in the Christian religion. No one influenced her to give us any part of her little property; nor had we the least idea that she intended to do so, until she desired Moung Shwa-ba to write an article to that effect. When her will was written, she said, 'Now I have done with all worldly things.' Since that, she has enjoyed great peace of mind. She does not express a doubt, that her name is written in heaven, and that she is hastening to a blissful immortality. She suffers considerable pain, with much patience; and, in order to fortify her mind, often compares her sufferings to those of her divine Master. She is not inclined to converse much; but how delighted *you* would be to hear her now and then talk of entering heaven, and of *meeting Mrs. Judson*, and other pious friends. The other day, after having dwelt for some time on the delightful subject, and mentioned the names of all the friends she should rejoice to meet, not omitting *dear little Maria*, she stopped short, and exclaimed, 'But first of all, I shall hasten to where my Saviour sits, and fall down and worship and adore him, for his great love, in

sending the teachers to show me the way to heaven.' She says, that she feels a choice in her mind, to die now, rather than to be restored to health; but desires that the will of God may be done. She was much gratified with your letter to-day, and now seems more reconciled to the idea of not seeing you again on earth. I feel it a pleasure to do any thing for her, she is so grateful and affectionate.' Letters received this morning add, 'While the funeral procession is moving towards the house appointed for all living, I sit down to inform you, that last evening, about nine o'clock, Mah Men-la's happy spirit took its flight to her 'native skies.' Her departure was quiet and serene; without a groan, or sigh, or even a gasp, to distort her smiling countenance. She had often said, that to her, death had no terrors; and though insensible at last, she seemed to bid him welcome. A large concourse of people attended the funeral services; and we have been much gratified by this general respect shown to our departed sister.'

"*Oct.* 2. We have been lately clearing up part of our ground contiguous to the road, and removing some of the native houses, with a view to building a house for brother Wade and myself, as we have now concluded to abandon Amherst altogether, with the little enclosure, the hope-tree, and the graves which contain the mouldering remains of all that were dearest to me on earth."

Letter from Messrs. Judson and Wade, to the Corresponding Secretary.

"*Amherst, June* 7, 1827.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"The Native Female Boarding School at present consists of fifteen girls, who are mostly between the ages of five and twelve years. Fourteen of them are Burmese or Talaings, and one Armenian, whose parents both died during the war. We have named her Sarah Wayland. She is, though very young, of longer standing in the school than any other except Mary Hasseltine. Rachel Ephemia Thomson, or as we call her, Ephemia, is one of the youngest, but most promising in the school. Beside these three, we have not given names to any of the scholars; and unless the Board particularly recommend it, we have thought it not advisable, on account of the peculiar difficulty the Burmese have in pronouncing foreign names, and for other reasons.

"Mrs. Wade spends seven hours a day in the midst of the scholars, teaching them to read, and sew, and repeat from memory such elementary works as are prepared for them, religious and scientifick. They are uncommonly attached to their instructress, and are characterized by a tractable, confiding disposition, which renders them easy of management.

"We beg the prayers of all those who contribute to their support, that they may make that progress in useful knowledge, and that improvement in manners and morals, which will exert a meliorating influence on the society with which they will hereafter mingle: but above all, that their minds may be enlightened, and their hearts inspired by the Holy Spirit, to know and love the Saviour of sinners."

Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were, for a while, stationed alone at Maulaming. They pursued the study of the language, and employed every opportunity of conversing, as well as they were able, with the natives. Several persons listened, with encouraging seriousness, to the truths of the Gospel. Mr. Boardman thus describes the mission premises at Maulaming:

"I waited on Sir Archibald Campbell, who kindly offered us as much land as we should wish, on the south side of the military cantonments. We soon fixed on the site which the mission house now occupies. It is on the east side of the river, about a mile south of the cantonments. It is about four hundred yards long, and two hundred and fifty broad: bounded west by the river, east by the back road to the civil superintendent's residence, north and south by small creeks or rivulets. The position of the lot, is mostly a westerly and southern declivity. On this gentle declivity, and near the centre of the lot, is the mission house; while in front, and on the north and south, the Burman village of Tha-ya-gnong, stretches itself for about three miles. The mission house contains three rooms, fifteen feet square, and a verandah on all sides, but enclosed on three sides for a study, store room, dressing room, &c. I have also built two outhouses. The expense of the house when completed, will be about three hundred and fifty Madras rupees. Outhouses, thirty do. Clearing land, twenty do. Total, four hundred Madras, or about three hundred and seventy-five Sicca rupees, [one hundred and seventy-five dollars.]

"I am happy to say, that many of the poor Burmans come to me, sometimes fifteen or twenty in a day, to receive Christian instruction; and although I can speak only with a stammering tongue, several persons seem deeply interested."

In a subsequent letter, Mr. Boardman gives an interesting account of the school established at Maulaming, for Burman boys.

"*Maulaming, Jan.* 15, 1828.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"We have lately received several letters, containing inquiries respecting schools for Burman boys. As the brethren here had previously agreed to have a boys' school commenced, and had requested me to take charge of that department, it devolves on me to answer those letters, and to communicate our prospects and sentiments in reference to this subject. It is considered unadvisable, so long as the number of Missionaries continues so small, for one of that number to devote *all* his time to schools of any kind. Should our number be increased, more attention may be paid to this important branch of missionary work.

"Still it is thought best to continue, and somewhat to increase, our efforts in the school already begun, and we are accordingly looking for more scholars. The following, among others, are the principal reasons why we think boys' schools demand our attention:

"I. The boys of Christian parents, if not taught by us, will grow up in ignorance and idleness, and consequently in vice; or they must be sent to the Burman *Kyoungs*, where their first lesson will be to bow down to the *black board*, to worship the priests, and to commit to memory stanzas in adoration of Gaudama; and their whole course of study will be through volumes of errours, falsehoods, and idolatry. All Burman schools are theological seminaries; and boys are taught Boodhism as they are taught their alphabet. It would be wicked in the extreme for Christian parents to send their sons to such seminaries; and many parents cannot instruct their children at home. The only proper alternative for us is, to instruct them ourselves.

"II. If we have a school for the boys of Burmese Christians, we may instruct others at but a small increase of expense. The same school-house, the same teacher, the same sort of books, will answer for all alike.

"III. If God should vouchsafe his blessing, as we may reasonably hope he will, great individual and publick benefit will result from a boys' school. It is scarcely necessary to advert to the importance of *early instruction.* May we not reasonably hope, that in a few years, perhaps sooner, some, if not all the boys who are thus trained up in Christian instruction, may be savingly converted to God? Who can compute the advantages which have already resulted from boys' schools in Ceylon and Palamcattah, and some other places? We are not aware of a single reason why schools may not be as useful in Burmah as in those places; nay, in some respects, the prospects are in our favour. Many boys trained up in schools there are, now not only rejoicing in God themselves, but are successfully preaching the Gospel to others. And if only a small part, or even none, of the boys in our schools should be converted at present, we may hope,

"IV. That truth, communicated to their minds when young, will not be entirely forgotten in after life. At any rate, the truth will thus become effectually circulated through the mass of the people. And truth is like leaven, *it will operate.*

"V. Many persons will contribute more readily and more liberally for the support of schools, than for any other missionary object.

"VI. A beginning has already been made. Friends in North Yarmouth, Framingham, and Lower Dublin, have been contributing for several years, and amid all the discouraging circumstances of the late Burman war, for the support of Burman boys. A beginning has also been made here. Mah Men-la, an excellent Burman Christian, on dying, left her two sons in the guardianship of the Missionaries, requesting that they might receive Christian instruction. This seemed a providential intimation; and accordingly, on the 27th of November last, the school was commenced with those two boys. We have since received another boy, and shall probably receive others soon.

"I am happy thus to be able, before I can preach publickly, to contribute, in some degree, to this interesting object. And I am the more happy, as my attention to the school is no impediment, but rather an assistance to me in acquiring the language.

"It is proposed to distinguish these children, in our communications, by the names of *Stephen Chapin, Charles*

Train, and *David Jones*, according to the request of their benefactors.

"As to the expense of the school, we cannot yet speak with certainty; but it must necessarily be somewhat greater than that of similar schools in Ceylon. Every article of living here is enormously dear, and will continue so at least for a considerable time. The whole expenses of an individual scholar, including food, clothing, teacher, books, school-room, &c. will not probably be less than thirty dollars per annum. Fifteen or twenty boys could be taught in our school, thus making the whole expense between 450 and 600 dollars. It is desirable that each society which intends to support a scholar, should raise at least thirty dollars.

"It will be readily perceived, that if the friends in America wish to favour this object, there is an immediate call for increased exertion. If suitable scholars should be obtained, all the money which has been raised for this object will have been appropriated, before new remittances can reach us. At present we know of only *three* societies in America whose funds are specifically appropriated to the support of Burman boys. May we not hope, that shortly, a number of new Societies will be formed to aid this encouraging part of our work? We feel persuaded that the interest felt in missions by the friends at home is such, that a mere exhibition of facts is sufficient. The churches in America will not suffer this cause to languish for the want of pecuniary support. While they contribute their worldly property, let it be accompanied with the daily prayer that both the teacher and the taught, in this school, may be graciously favoured with the light of life."

We shall now continue our extracts from Mr. Judson's journal:

"*Maulaming*, *Oct.* 7, 1827, Lord's day. A succession of company from morning till afternoon. In the last party, were some individuals, who listened with much seriousness, particularly Moung Gway, a man of some distinction. This is his second visit, and his whole appearance indicated real earnestness.

"19. Had the pleasure of seeing Moung Ing, who has just returned from Mergui. Spent the evening, in hearing him relate his adventures. The latter part of his residence there, he daily occupied a zayat, in a central part of the

town, and made pretty extensive communications of the Gospel. Besides some cases mentioned in his letters, he now mentions the case of Moung Nay, from Rangoon, who appeared the most promising of all. But he found none who was willing to accompany him back to this place, though some expressed a desire to do so, in order to see the foreign teachers, and become more acquainted with their religion.

"21, Lord's day. Moung Shoon and Moung Pan-pyoo, two of our principal workmen, were with me a great part of the day, and I cannot but hope, that they are seriously inquiring after the truth. I pressed them to attend a prayer meeting in the evening, with myself and Moung Ing, but they were unwilling to commit themselves so far.

"*Nov.* 14. Have been extremely busy the last month, in getting the new house ready to occupy. On the 10th went down to Amherst; and to-day, removed hither, with Mr. and Mrs. Wade. Moung Shwa-ba, Moung Ing, and eleven of the female scholars, accompany us, as well as the two boys, left in our charge by Mah Men-la. Mah Doke and her husband will follow us in a few days, together with Moung Myat-poo, and several families connected with him. As to Mah Loon-byay, she is obliged to remain behind, on account of her husband.

25, Lord's day. We have arranged a large room, in the front of the house, in the manner of a zayat, and to-day set up worship in the old Rangoon fashion; and a busy day it has been. About seventy persons, great and small, attended worship in the forenoon; after which twenty or thirty women followed Mrs. Wade into another room, and listened to her instructions. In the evening we had about thirty; and after worship, some animated conversation ensued, in which Mah Doke's husband, Moung Dwah, came out very decidedly on the side of Christianity. Moung Ing has a good degree of missionary spirit, and affords much assistance in the work.

"26. This evening, we had rather an encouraging season. Several of the neighbours came in, so that there was an assembly of a dozen, besides the school. After worship, had some particular conversation with Moung Dwah, in which he gave considerable evidence of being a converted man. He declares, that he loves the religion of Christ, because he is sure it is the true religion, and con-

fers inestimable benefits. He says it is about six weeks or two months since his mind became quite decided. His wife says, that so long ago, he began to read the Scriptures more attentively, and requested her to pray for, and with him, which she did, for some days, when he began to pray in the family, himself. These things she related at the time, to Mrs. Wade, with tears of joy. Moung Thah-oung, also, an old Rangoon neighbour, and violent opposer, has just come up from Amherst, with a view to removing here, having, as he says, become convinced, that his former opposition was wrong, and that the religion of Christ is worthy consideration and acceptance.

"*Dec.* 9, Lord's day. I cannot help recording the name of Kaning-tsoo. He is one of the most respectable of our neighbours—a venerable, white headed, old man, called a Thoo-dan-gnong, (saint,) on account of his conscientious life, and meritorious deeds; formerly rich, but now poor; once a Pharisee, but lately disposed to change his character. He occasionally attends our evening worship, and seems to be opening his mind to the influence of divine truth. We feel much interested in him, and daily pray for his precious soul.

"11. Moung Noo, another of our neighbours, the youngest of four brethren, came in last Sunday, just at night; and after hearing some plain truths, he staid during evening worship, and paid uncommon attention. This morning, he came again, and this evening again. After worship, he inquired with feeling, 'What shall I do to be saved?' 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ.' 'I do believe. I do believe. This religion is right. I have been all wrong. What shall I now do?' 'If you have begun to believe, let your faith increase. Attend worship. Keep the Lord's day. Become the Saviour's servant. Do all his will. Give yourself, soul and body, into his hands. Will you do so?' 'I will. I will. But I do not know all his will.' 'Read the Scriptures.' 'I can read Talaing only, not Burman.' 'Come, then, and we will read to you. Come every day to worship, and at all times of day, and we will instruct you.'

"The case of this poor man is the case of a large majority of the population of these parts. They understand the Scriptures in Burman, when read, but cannot read themselves. And I felt the necessity of having the Scriptures constantly read in some publick place,—in a word,

of setting up a reading zayat, to be occupied by one of the native Christians.

"12. Conversed with Moung Shwa-ba, on the project of a reading zayat, and he entered into it, with some interest. We concluded, therefore, to put up a shed on the way side, in the vicinity of the house, and employ him on account of the mission, half of the time; the other half of his time being devoted to the female school. Moung Ing is to be continued in the service of the mission exclusively, as an itinerant throughout the place, and an assistant to brother Wade, in the preaching zayat, which he is about setting up.

"16, Lord's day. Moung Shwa-ba commenced his operations in the reading zayat, and had several listeners. In the course of the day, had various opportunities of preaching the Gospel to a great many. In an excursion through the north part of the place, met Moung Ing engaged in the same way. He is growing a most valuable assistant. He takes up the business, without instigation, and appears to be deeply interested in the spread of the Gospel. Moung Dwah, also, is growing in zeal and attachment to the cause. I trust it will not be long before he is baptized.

"31. Though considerable missionary work has been done, for several days past, I have noted nothing, in the journal; but the close of the year reminds me of this, as well as many other delinquencies.

"The means which are at present using for the spread of truth, may be said to be four. First, Publick worship on Lord's days. This commences at half past ten o'clock in the forenoon, and is attended by the members of the mission, the scholars, the native converts, and inquirers, and occasionally some of the neighbours and travellers; the assembly varying from twenty to seventy or more. The worship consists of a set form of adoration and praise, followed by an extempore discourse, or rather harangue, for it is commonly very desultory, suited to the nature of the assembly; and the exercises are closed with prayer. After the assembly breaks up, several remain, and we frequently have religious conversation, and discussion for several hours. Second, The daily evening worship. This is intended for our own family, the scholars, the Christians that live around us, and such of the neighbours as wish to attend. The attendance, including the children, averages about twenty. We begin with reading a portion of Scripture—

explain—exhort—and conclude with prayer. After worship, I spend the evening with those who are willing to remain, particularly the converts, and endeavour to make the conversation instructive and profitable to them. In the mean time, the women repair to another room, and receive the instruction of Mrs. Wade; and this, together with the female school, conducted by Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Boardman, (brother Boardman has also just commenced a school for boys,) may be called the third means. The fourth is brother Wade's zayat, about half a mile south of the mission house, on the principal road leading from Maulaming to Tavoy-zoo. He goes regularly after breakfast, and spends the day. I hope, in a few days, to be able to add the fifth head—namely, a small zayat at Koung-zay-kyoon, about two miles and a half north of our present residence, a very populous part of the town, where I intend to spend the day, making an occasional exchange with brother Wade.

"As to success, our most hopeful inquirer, Moung Myat-poo, with his extensive connexions, has found it inconvenient to remove from Amherst; and for him, we can only hope and pray. Moung Dwah, brother of Mah Men-la, and husband of Mah Doke, gives very satisfactory evidence of being a true disciple. He is constant in attending worship every day, besides his own family worship, and has lately requested to be admitted into the church. He will probably be the first baptized in the waters of Maulaming. The second is Moung Thah-pyoo, (mentioned April 22d) a Karen by nation, imperfectly acquainted with the Burman language, and possessed of very ordinary abilities. He has been about us several months; and we hope that his mind, though exceedingly dark and ignorant, has begun to discern the excellence of the religion of Christ. The third is Mah Lah, concerning whom my principal acquaintance is derived from Mrs. Wade. She is most constant in improving every opportunity of attending worship, and gives considerable evidence of loving the Gospel. Both the last have requested baptism. Next in order comes a priest. He visits the zayat every day—has been to the house once, and spent a few hours with me. He appears to be almost convinced of the truth; but cannot yet think of giving up the merits of thirty-seven years of clerical austerity. Kaning-tsoo, mentioned the 9th inst. remains about the same. There are two or three more, who attend worship occa-

sionally, and give us some reason to hope, that their attention has been so far excited, as to consider the Christian religion, with some conviction of its truth and excellence. I ought not to forget the children in the school, two or three of whom, and particularly one, by name Meh A, have manifested much tenderness of feeling, and desire to obtain an interest in Christ.

"*Jan.* 2, 1828. Spent the day in brother Wade's zayat, he being otherwise engaged. Considerable company all day. The priest present most of the time. Tells every body that he comes daily to investigate the new religion—speaks in our favour on all occasions—but will not own that he has any thought of changing his profession.

"6, Lord's day. Not a very interesting day—the assembly rather thin; but in the evening, had some gratifying conversation with Mah Lah, and obtained satisfactory evidence, that she, as well as Moung Dwah, has experienced divine grace.

"11. Commenced operations in the Koung-zay-kyoon zayat—had literally a crowd of company, without any intermission through the day. Among the rest, one Moung Ian-loon, who has received some instructions from Moung Ing, appeared to drink in the truth. Two others, whose names I know not, staid from morning till night, and manifested that inquisitive spirit, which, I feel persuaded, will bring them again.

"12. The two last, Moung Tan and Moung Yay, were with me nearly all day: but Ian-loon, I am sorry to find, has suddenly gone off to Rangoon on business, and will be absent several days. In the evening, Moung Dwah and Mah Lah were examined for admission into the church, and fully approved.

"13, Lord's day. A pretty full assembly at morning worship. Much gratified to see Moung Tan and Moung Yay, who, with Moung En, a very sensible young man, from Koung-zay-kyoon, and Moung Myat-kyan, brother of the chief of that district, and two or three others, remained several hours, and maintained a most interesting and profitable discussion of many points of Christian doctrine. All these that have been named, together with Moung Ian-loon, may be considered hopeful inquirers.

"14. Company at the zayat through the day. Towards night, Moung Ian-loon came in, having been disap-

pointed in his attempt to go to Rangoon. He manifests a spirit of sincere, anxious inquiry. He says, that he desires, above all things, to find the light; but it seems to him, that the further he advances, the more dark and sinful he becomes. After I left the zayat, he told Moung Ing, that he wanted to come and live near us, that he might devote himself more entirely to the investigation of religious truth.

"15. A crowded zayat all day. Obliged to talk incessantly. One Oo Ian-loon, a blind man of some note among his neighbours, took the lead in conversation. The other Ian-loon, (Moung) is evidently improving in dispositions favourable to the Gospel.

"12. Had worship in the house, as on Lord's days. Not a very large assembly; but some of the most promising inquirers were present. After the exercises, Moung Dwah and Mah Lah received baptism. Moung Thah-pyoo, who had been absent on business, several days, happened to come in at the time, and requested leave to join them; but we advised him to wait a little.

"At night, Moung Ian-loon declared that he fully approved of the Christian religion in all its parts, but felt his mind so weak and dark, that he knew not how to encounter the reproach and ridicule which would ensue on embracing it."

Mrs. Wade, in two letters, one dated Amherst, May 1, 1827, and the other, dated Maulaming, December 31, gives an interesting account of the female school. It was first established at Amherst, where Mrs. Judson had erected two small school houses—the one for boys, and the other for girls. A few extracts from the first letter will throw some light on the situation and character of the Burmese children, and will show the importance of schools.

"*Amherst, May* 1, 1827.

"Our first scholar, Meh Loke, was brought by Moung Shwa-ba, January 18th, about seven weeks after our arrival at this place; she is a fine promising girl, twelve years old. About the same time, in one of my evening walks, I met a little girl about five years of age, of a more than usually interesting appearance. I asked her name, and where she lived, to which she readily answered, and then ran before to point out her grandmother's house, a little low dirty

hut, in the midst of the market. I found the grandmother to be rather a sensible Burman woman, and learned that the little girl was an orphan, both her parents having died during the late war. After making some inquiries what she would be able to learn in such a place, &c. I informed her that I intended to educate a number of girls at the mission house in our own family. This idea seemed to strike her very favourably, so that after making a few inquiries, she proposed to give me the little girl, to educate as my own child, and accordingly brought her to us the next day. This is our Sarah Wayland. With these two girls I commenced this female boarding school.

"Our number soon increased to six; and having yet no rooms for their accommodation, it was thought best to receive no more scholars until the school-room should be finished. This plan had the desired effect of making the Burmans begin to feel it an advantage to have their children thus educated, rather than that they were conferring a favour by placing them in the school; and several mothers who had been hesitating, now began to fear that we did not intend to take their daughters, and came begging that I would promise to do so, as soon as the school-house should be finished.

"6. Have just now got the girls comfortably settled in the school-rooms, which are placed so near my window, that they are constantly under my eye, even when I am not with them. And six girls, who had been waiting some time for admission into the school, have been received to-day. Their parents and friends seem to have very proper ideas of the favour thus conferred, and fully understand that our great object is to teach them the Christian religion.

"16. Mah Quay, the mother of Meh Poo, who often visits me, this morning expressed herself highly pleased with the school, and gratified with her little daughter's proficiency. She had placed her here with so much apparent anxiety and hesitation, that we feared she would soon wish to take her again. But she now assured me, that both herself and husband wished us to take their child as our own. I then suggested, that it was not the welfare and respectability of these girls, in this world only, that induced us to do so much for them—informed her how much pains was taken every day to teach them the Christian religion—and added, 'perhaps your daughter will become a disciple of Christ; how would you like that?' 'Let her become a disciple,' she

answered without the least hesitation. 'Her father and myself have not worshipped the pagodas for some time, and have many doubts upon the subject. We are perfectly willing that our daughter should change her religion. Let her become a good Christian.'

"24. A fine, intelligent little girl, who has often been here with Mah Men-la, wishes very much to be admitted into the school; but her father says, that here she would never learn any thing of the religion of Gaudama, but would surely become a disciple of Christ, and he will not therefore give her to us. To-day when I asked her if she still wished to come and live with me, a tear immediately brightened her fine black eye, while she answered, 'I *very much* wish to come and live with you, Mamma, but my father will not allow it.' Such opposition we have reason to expect, since we so freely tell the Burmans that it is our great object to teach their children the Christian religion.

"25. Mah Niyht, a woman who has placed her three daughters in the school, of course often visits me, but has hitherto been quite indifferent to the subject of religion. To-day, however, she seemed to get considerably interested in a conversation, and acknowledged, with much apparent feeling, that the Burman system of religion was destitute of any support or comfort for a death-bed. 'To us,' she said, while a tear started in her eye, 'all beyond the grave is covered with gloomy uncertainty and darkness.' Oh that this might prove a moment of conviction from the Holy Spirit.

"26. As I went into the school this morning, I observed a small quantity of boiled rice, rolled up very neatly, and laid in a safe place, just in the way the Burmans make what they consider meritorious offerings to the Nats, [inferior demons, which the Burmans fear, and strive to propitiate by offerings.] I inquired who put the rice in that place, and for what purpose. The girls, with their accustomed frankness, immediately answered that Meh Noboo had placed it there as an offering to one of the Nats. When she was asked if she thought the Nat would come to receive it, she hung her head and made no reply; but a little girl, still younger, said, 'Yes, Mamma, the Nat will come.' Well, watch for him, I replied, and if he does not come before dark, I will give you a lamp, to watch in the night; for I very much wish to see a Nat. All the larger girls now began to laugh, and told Meh Noboo that she might watch

many days and nights, but would not see a Nat, for no person in the world had ever seen a Nat come to take an offering. After a little pleasantry upon the subject, I told them Meh Noboo's mind was very dark, to believe in Nats —endeavoured to show them the absurdity of making such offerings, and spent some time in trying to give them some idea of the angels of heaven, fallen angels, and of the eternal God, to which they listened with much apparent interest. We have not thought it best to forbid the scholars worshipping the relicks of Gaudama, or making offerings to the Nats, but wish so to instruct them that the renunciation shall be voluntary.

"*July* 1. Received into the school to-day Meh Nyoon, a little orphan, about four years old, who was brought here, a short time since, by her step-father, to be sold as a slave. We told the man he had no right to sell the poor child, and that it was a very wicked thing, which the English Government would not allow; but if he would give her to us we would bring her up in the school without making him any expense. This he had no wish to do, and therefore took the little prattler away, resolved to get thirty or forty dollars by making her a slave for life. A purchaser was soon found, of whom he obtained his money, and all was settled according to Burman custom. But many days had not elapsed, before an uncle appeared to claim the child. The case was then brought before the English magistrate, the little girl delivered to her uncle, and the purchaser put into prison. But the step-father had taken good care to make his escape. The uncle then brought his little niece to us, and said, that as business was calling him to another part of the country, he should feel quite happy if we would take the child into the school. Thus Providence has given us this interesting little orphan; and oh that it might be to prepare her for heaven!

"3. Three little girls have been brought for admittance into the school to-day; but as our present number is nineteen, and we had concluded to take no more than twenty at present, they were not received. We feel pained to send these poor ignorant children away; but the high price of clothing, provisions, &c. renders it necessary.

"*Aug.* 5. Have just been informed by one of the Christians, that Meh Poo, a little girl, who has been in the school about six months, when last at home on a visit, heard something said about going to worship a pagoda, when she im-

mediately exclaimed with much earnestness, 'O my father, and my mother, do not worship those images and pagodas. Gaudama, where is he? Can he see or hear us? And these heaps of bricks, and figures of stone, what can they do for us? Is it not better to worship the God, who made the heavens and the earth, and who is *now alive*, and will live forever?'

"7. The grandmother of Meh Men, a little girl about five years old, made me a visit to-day. After inquiring about her health, I observed, You are growing old, and cannot expect to live long. 'It is true,' she replied, 'and I have been thinking much on the subject lately.' I then inquired, Into what state do you expect to enter after death? 'Oh I do not know,' she replied; 'I have been trying *all my life* to perform enough meritorious deeds to ensure me happiness in another state; but little Meh Men tells me that every body will go down to hell, if they do not worship the great God who made heaven and all this world too. So I try to worship him, but my mind is extremely dark.' How do you worship him? she was asked. 'I first pray to my dead relations to speak to God for me, and then I try to pray to Jesus Christ; but did not know what to say to him, until Meh Men began to teach me the prayer which she learned here.'

"20. To-day, a Burman woman brought her little daughter, begging that I would receive her into the school, and said that I might take her as my own child. She was a little girl, but I was obliged again with very painful feelings to refuse the request; she went away with a sorrowful countenance, and the mother said, 'Alas, my daughter will never have an opportunity of learning any thing but wickedness.' We have in this way refused ten or twelve girls, since our number was made up twenty, and there is no doubt but many others would have offered, had it not been known that we had refused to take any more."

The school was removed to Maulaming, about the middle of November, 1827. Eleven of the scholars accompanied it from Amherst. Mrs. Wade, in her letter of December 7, says:

"We now find ourselves situated in the midst of an immense population, and surrounded by hundreds of ignorant children; but we felt so much the disadvantage of hav-

ing nine scholars leave us, when we removed to this place, which was only twenty-five miles, that it was concluded best to make every parent or guardian enter into a written agreement, that the child should stay a specified number of years; during which time, no one should have any authority over the child, or be able to take her away."

The following extract from the same letter exhibits the dreadful condition of many poor children in Burmah. Truly, the *dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.* How desirable it is, that the children should be thus rescued from their barbarous masters, and from parents who seem, indeed, to be *without natural affection.* Will not the females of our land combine their prayers, and their efforts, to support and multiply these schools?

"The circumstances under which two little slave girls were received into the school in the month of July, ought not, perhaps, to be omitted, as it will probably be desirable to retain them in the school several years. Meh Quay is about eight years old, and having lost her parents, was taken by an Armenian, as a slave, and treated in such a cruel manner, that the neighbours were constantly coming to us with complaints, and saying that they could not eat their rice while they saw the poor child so unmercifully beaten. The case was therefore represented to the English magistrate, who immediately took this child from her master,—but her health not having materially suffered, he received no other punishment than a severe reprimand. The other little girl, Meh Shway-ee, is about seven years old, and was by her parents made a slave to one of the magistrate's interpreters, who is a Moorman, and from the situation which he fills, keeps the Burmans in great fear of him, so that we never heard of this poor child until it was almost too late. The case was then represented to us with the greatest precaution, through fear of suffering the vengeance of the wicked interpreter. As the English magistrate was absent at the time, Mr. Judson immediately called the man, told him that he knew all about the poor child, and that if he would bring her to us without the least delay, he would not inform the magistrate against him; but if not, he would do it immediately. He seemed perfectly astonished that any one should dare to inform against him; but there being no alternative, he promised to bring the child.

He had, however, a little hope that we did not really know the worst, and therefore sent his wife to use all her influence with me to get permission for the child to remain two or three days. But as we had every reason to fear that a few days only were wanting to close the dreadful scene, we did not listen to any thing she had to say, but again demanded the child instantly. The child was then brought to us,—but my blood chills at even this distant recollection of what an object was presented. Her little body was wasted to a skeleton, and covered from head to foot with the marks of a large rattan, and blows from some sharp edged thing which left a deep scar. Her forehead, one of her ears, and a finger, were still suffering from his blows, and did not heal for some time. Her master in a rage one day caught her by the arm, and gave it such a twist as to break the bone, from which her sufferings were dreadful. Besides, she had a large and very dreadful burn upon her body, recently inflicted. Of this last horrid deed, delicacy forbids my attempting any description. Whether the wretch intended to put an end to her life this time, is uncertain; but he no doubt concluded that the event would prove fatal; for he shut her up in a close hot room, where no one was allowed to see her, and told his neighbours that she was very ill in a fever. She had been tortured so long, that her naturally smiling countenance was the very picture of grief and despair. Oh, is it possible that man, made in the likeness of his Divine Creator, and endowed with such high intellectual capacities, and a sensibility so refined, can have fallen thus low!

"Almost the first word which this poor little sufferer said to me was, 'Please to give your slave a little rice, for I am very hungry.' She was asked if she had not had her breakfast: to which she replied, 'Yes, but I get very little, so that I am hungry all day long.' I was happy to find that she had no fever. But notwithstanding all that could be done, she cried almost incessantly for forty-eight hours, and had at times symptoms of convulsions. The inflammation then began to subside; and after nursing her with unremitted care by night and by day myself, for two weeks, I had the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing her begin to play with the little girls. Although we did not inform against the Moorman interpreter, the Burmans ventured to do so, and the result was, a pair of chains and imprison-

ment, where he is waiting his final sentence from the 'Supreme Government' of Bengal."

This poor child afterwards died; and in her last hours she gave evidence, that the instructions which she had received had, by the blessing of God, made her wise unto salvation. Mrs. Wade, in a letter dated Maulaming, June 28, 1828, says:

"Your last kind letter found me alone in my sleeping room, watching the corpse of one of our dear scholars, who had, after a very painful illness, just passed into her eternal state. But her placid, smiling countenance reproved my sadness and chided my tears, and I seemed to realize that angels were indeed hovering round her little bed.

'She sleeps in Jesus, and is blest—
How sweet her slumbers are!'

Yes, my dear sister, we may well apply these beautiful lines to her, for she *truly* sleeps in Jesus.

"My heart bleeds, even *now*, to think what she suffered when we first saw her. But she recovered, and though a delicate child, enjoyed pretty good health, for some months, till she was taken down with her last illness, which terminated in about six weeks. But about a month before her departure, she gave very pleasing evidence of a work of grace upon her heart, and died, enjoying, in a very eminent degree, all the sweet consolations of a hope in Christ. For the last two hours of her life, she was perfectly sensible she was dying, and without expressing the least doubt or fear, would say, 'I am dying, but I am *not afraid* to die, for Christ will call me up to heaven. He has taken away all my sins, and I wish to die now, that I may go and see him. I love Jesus Christ more than every body else.' But it is only those who heard her, from day to day, lisp her little prayers and praises to God, who caught, with a joy unfelt before, the first dawn of light which beamed upon her dark mind, who watched, with hearts raised to God, its gentle progress, that can realize what a precious and heavenly scene, the death bed of little Meh Shway-ee presented."

The latest intelligence from the station at Maulaming, is contained in the following extracts from Mr. Judson's journal.

"*Jan.* 25, 1828. For several days past, the attendance at the Koung-zay-kyoon zayat has varied from ten to twenty through the day. Moung Myat-kyau, brother of the chief of the district, has been gradually advancing in religious knowledge and decision of character, until I begin to indulge a hope, that he is a subject of divine grace. Mah Men, an old acquaintance of Mah Mee of Rangoon, came to the zayat a few days ago, and listened with such eagerness and approbation, as inclined me to think, that she had obtained some love to the truth, before she removed to this place. Her husband is a decided opposer. The opposition throughout the district, and the whole place, is becoming more open. At the same time, the number of listeners and inquirers is multiplying, and the excitement in favour of religion is evidently increasing. Moung San-loon, the most hopeful inquirer, has gone to Rangoon, and will be absent several days.

"*March* 20. Since the last date, all the inquirers mentioned then, and on the 17th preceding, have been advancing slowly. Some or other of them attend the zayat every day. Moung Shwa-pan and Ko Man-poke must also be added to the list. The latter, an elderly man of some respectability, appears to be really attached to the truth, but is yet very timid in his professions. Mah Men is treated harshly by her husband, and seldom dares to come near us. Moung San-loon, on his return from Rangoon, was accompanied by his father-in-law, Oo Pai by name, a very active, intelligent old man, who drank in the truth with singular avidity. On his return to Rangoon, he took an affectionate leave of me, promising to remove his family hither, if at all practicable. We hear that our old friend Moung Thwa-a, is now in Rangoon; and that there are several of the old inquirers who listen to his instructions.

"But my particular object in taking up my pen this morning was, to mention the case of Moung Shwa-pwen, a bright young man of twenty, who professes to have received the truth, about fourteen days ago. On first hearing the Gospel at the zayat, it sunk into his heart; but as he lived at some distance, we saw him occasionally only. A few days ago, he removed hither, and took up his abode with Moung Ing, that he might devote himself entirely to the attainment of the one thing needful. His experience has been uncommonly clear and rapid; and having out-

stripped all the older inquirers, he this morning followed his Lord into the watery grave.

"23, Lord's day. After the forenoon worship, Moung Myat-kyau, Moung San-loon and Moung En, requested baptism; and after the Lord's Supper in the evening, they were examined before the church and approved.

"29. Brother and sister Boardman left us for Tavoy, with the cordial approbation of all the members of the mission, accompanied by Moung Shwa-pwen, Moung Thah-pyoo, (the Karen) who also has lately been approved by the church, but not been baptized.

30, Lord's day. The three persons mentioned last Lord's day were baptized. Three others, Moung Yay, Moung Shwa-pan, and Ko Man-poke, attended all the exercises of the day; and they give considerable evidence of being really converted. Mah Moo, also, a poor woman, who has occasionally attended the instructions of Mrs. Wade, must be mentioned as a very hopeful character. Mah Men is, I hope, a decided Christian; but is seldom able to attend, on account of her husband. Moung Tau, who has been sometimes mentioned among the inquirers, has become rather deistical of late; but we do not despair of him. May the Lord pour out his Holy Spirit upon our hearts, and upon the inhabitants of Maulaming.

"*April* 20. Received a letter from Moung T'hah-a of Rangoon, stating the names of thirteen men and three women, who are disciples of Jesus, but 'secretly, for fear of the Jews.' In the number, I recognize my old friend, 'the teacher Oo Oung-det of the village of Kambet,' and two or three others whom I formerly knew; but most of them are new cases.

"*May* 31. The last two months I have spent at the zayat, with scarcely the exception of a single day: and I seldom have been without the company of some of the Christians or the hopeful inquirers. In the latter class, we count eight or ten; adding to those mentioned above, Moung San-loon the second, a young man of ordinary abilities, but warmly attached to the cause, and Moung Bo, noticed once in the Annals of the Rangoon Mission—a man of the first distinction in point of talents, erudition, general information, and extensive influence. His progress has been so slow, that I have not mentioned him before; but he has attended me ever since the zayat was opened, his house being on the opposite side of the street. He was an

intimate friend of Moung Shwa-gnong, and has apparently been going through a process similar to what my dear brother, now, I trust, in heaven, experienced. He has relinquished Boodhism, and got through with Deism and Unitarianism, and now appears to be near the truth. Many a time, when contemplating his hard, unbending features, and listening to his tones of dogmatism and pride, I have said in my heart, Canst thou ever kneel, a humble suppliant, at the foot of the cross? But he has lately manifested some disposition to yield, and assures me that he does pray in secret.

"To conclude this paper, I hope that the light is gradually spreading around us, more extensively perhaps from brother Wade's zayat than from mine, that being in a situation to catch visiters from all parts of the country, while mine is chiefly confined to the immediate vicinity. And I hope, also, that the Spirit of God is operating, in some cases, on the minds of our hearers. All those who have been baptized in this place, as well as those who came with us, give us great and increasing satisfaction. It is, I think, rather characteristick of Burman converts, that they are slow in making up their minds to embrace a new religion; but the point, once settled, is settled forever."

Mr. and Mrs. Boardman, with the native Christians who accompanied them, arrived at Tavoy, April 9, 1828. Tavoy is an old Burman walled town, situated on the river of the same name, about thirty miles from the sea. It is situated in north latitude, thirteen degrees, four minutes, about one hundred and fifty miles southeast from Rangoon, (see map.) It is laid out with some regularity, on a plain, with straight streets, paved with bricks. The population is about 9000, two thirds of whom are Burmans.

On the 16th of May, Mr. Boardman baptized at Tavoy, Moung Thah-pyoo, (the Karen) who accompanied him from Maulaming. Mr. Boardman had had some conversation with several priests and others; but deferred any publick attempts to preach the Gospel until the rainy season should terminate. He had received some interesting information respecting a race of people called Karens, who reside at some distance from Tavoy. They are said to be destitute of any religion whatever. Their language differs from the Burman, and in their manners and habits they resemble the native Indians of America. Several of these persons call-

ed on Mr. Boardman, and invited him to visit them, assuring him that the people would receive the Christian religion. Mr. B. designed to visit them, accompanied by Moung Thah-pyoo, after the rainy season. One of them, he had received under his tuition as a pupil. As Moung Thah-pyoo is a Karen, it may be the design of God, to make him the means of converting his countrymen.

We shall conclude our history of the mission, with the following extract from a letter of Mr. Wade to the Corresponding Secretary :

"*Maulaming, May* 20, 1828.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"In respect to our missionary labours, we are happy and thankful to God in being able to inform those who are praying and longing for the salvation of the heathen, that a number of precious souls have, we trust, been born of the Spirit, and translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son, since we came to this place; six of whom have been baptized, five men and one female. Among those baptized, we hope there are two at least whom God has chosen to testify the Gospel of his grace to others, and to be fellow labourers with us in our missionary work; one of these is now at Tavoy with brother Boardman. Several who have not yet been baptized, are hopefully pious. I long to see the people awake to the importance of examining the evidence of the truth of the Gospel, and to have them feel that it is a subject in which they are personally and deeply concerned. Oh! it is painful to see what ascendency Satan and the powers of darkness have gained over their minds, and with what confidence they believe the most incredible accounts which have come down to them by tradition. But it was only the grace of God, which made us to differ; we have nothing but what we have received, and therefore have nothing to boast of, except the grace of God, which has revealed to us the truth."

CHAPTER XXI.

Concluding Remarks—Mrs. Judson's Address to the Females of America.

HAVING finished our narrative, it is proper, before we close the book, to make a few observations respecting the mission. It has been a favourite hope, which has cheered the labour of the Compiler, that this work would assist to invite the attention of our churches to the Burman mission, and to arouse the slumbering energies of the denomination to a degree of zeal and effort, commensurate with their numbers and their increasing power.

The Mission has been very successful.—It is true, that it has been impeded by intolerance; interrupted by sickness and by war; and weakened by the death of five Missionaries. But these events show, the more plainly, how great has been the success of the mission, notwithstanding the untoward incidents, which have checked and annoyed it. If we take the number of converts only, as the measure of its success, we may safely affirm, that few missions in modern times have accomplished more in the same period, and with the same means. Twenty-six persons have been baptized, and with one or two exceptions, have proved, by the uprightness and purity of their conduct, the sincerity of their profession; and this, too, notwithstanding their frequent separations from their teachers, and their consequent dispersion among idolaters. The mission has been established about sixteen years, during two of which its operations were wholly suspended by the war. Have not some ministers preached the Gospel, in this country, for an equal length of time, with all the advantages of a common language, of Sabbaths, Bibles, tracts, and the numberless other auxiliaries to the ministry in a Christian land, without the conversion of a greater number of individuals than Mr. Judson has baptized in Burmah? Several of the converts have died in faith and hope. If one soul be more valuable than worlds, would not the conversion of Mah Men-la alone have been worth all the expense, toil, and suffering, which have hitherto attended the Burman mission?

But the number of conversions is not the proper guage. In the establishment of a mission, there is much to be done, in laying its foundations. The language is to be acquired,

the habits and feelings of the natives are to be learned ; the Scriptures are to be translated ; tracts are to be written and printed ; and the other weapons of the christian warfare are to be collected and prepared, before a Missionary can make a successful onset upon the strong holds of Satan, in a heathen land. The first Missionaries, therefore, must necessarily be pioneers, to remove the obstructions, and make strait in the desert a highway for their successors.

Mr. Judson has performed this service for the Burman mission. He has thoroughly acquired the language, and has prepared a Grammar and Dictionary, by the aid of which future Missionaries will be enabled in a brief period to qualify themselves to preach the Gospel.* The New Testament is translated, and portions of it have been printed and circulated. The Old Testament is now in the hands of Mr. Judson, and will be completed as soon as possible. Thousands of tracts have been distributed. Four Missionaries, besides Mr. Judson, have obtained a sufficient knowledge of the language, to hold intercourse with the natives, and are now actively engaged in their schools and zayats. One of the native converts has been licensed as a preacher, and two or three others exhibit encouraging evidence of good gifts for the ministry. Above all, a christian church has been gathered, composed of converted Burmans, and built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. Has not God, then, given great success to the Burman mission?

There is an inviting field for Missions in Burmah.—The experiment has been tried, and it has been proved, that the truths of the Gospel can triumph over the errors and subtleties of Burman minds, and the levity, deceitfulness and sensuality of their hearts. It is no longer a question, whether the Burmans can become sincere disciples of Christ.

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* Of this Dictionary, several copies have been received in this country. It is a well printed volume, of 411 pages. It is introduced by a short preface by Mr. Wade, and a few remarks on the alphabet, symbols, &c. taken from Mr. Judson's Burman Grammar. Then follows the Dictionary, arranged in the usual form, the Burman words being printed in the order of the alphabet, with explanations in English. In preparing this work for the press, from Mr. Judson's manuscripts, Mr. Wade had the assistance of an able Burman teacher. The Bengal government subscribed for 100 copies, at 20 rupees (about $10) each. This liberal subscription afforded a very seasonable aid in defraying the expense of publication.

The learned and acute Moung Shwa-gnong, and the ignorant and simple hearted Moung Shwa-ba, have bowed at the foot of the cross. The principles of Boodhism have been arrayed against the doctrines of the Gospel, with all the force of ardent zeal, and subtle argument; but the truth, as it is in Jesus, has pierced like a two-edged sword through the joints and marrow of the system, and its discomfited advocates have retired abashed, if not persuaded. We may be assured, then, that if the Gospel be preached in Burmah, with the usual blessing of the Holy Spirit, it will become the power of God, to the salvation of the natives.

Another encouraging circumstance is, that there is not, in Burmah, a very strong attachment to the prevailing religion. A system, like that of Boodh, which differs little in effect from absolute atheism, cannot obtain a firm hold either of the mind or heart. Its doctrines are at war with the suggestions of reason, and the testimony of the material creation. The first principle of Boodhism rests on so frail a basis, that the simple announcement of the doctrine of an eternal God is sufficient to subvert it. Moung Shwa-gnong declared, that the instant he heard this doctrine he believed it. Mr. Judson ascertained, that a wide-spread scepticism, in reference to Boodhism, exists among the educated classes in Burmah. The system is destitute of objects to fill and dazzle the imagination; and of motives to touch the heart. The sacred books are sealed from the eyes of all but the learned and the priesthood, by the secrecy of a learned language; and little is known, by the people, of the established religion, except its popular fables, and its external rites. Gaudama is indeed worshipped, and his images are found in the pagodas and in private dwellings. But there is not that variety of deities which gave to the idolatry of Greece and Rome, as it now does to that of China and Hindostan, its poetick attraction to cultivated minds; nor that connexion with all the objects of nature, with the heavens, the mountains, the rivers and the groves, which brought it home to the daily business and bosoms of the common people. The *cast* that exists in Hindostan, and which constitutes one of the firmest bulwarks with which Satan has fortified the strong holds of idolatry, is not found in Burmah. The Gospel, therefore, has nothing to resist it, in the heart of a Burman, beyond the ordinary depravity of man, except the shadowy abstractions of Boodhism, which has no great, intelligible doctrines to expand and satisfy his mind: no con-

soling truths and definite hopes to cheer his heart. It is, for these reasons, confidently asserted by travellers, that the king might, by a simple decree, sweep away at once the whole system of Boodhism.

There is, then, ample encouragement to preach the Gospel in Burmah; and there is now an opportunity for the introduction of any number of Missionaries who may be sent thither. There is, at present, no station within the territories actually under the sway of the Burman monarch; but there are millions of persons in the provinces ceded to the English, to whom access may be obtained, without difficulty or danger. The station at Maulaming is a central point, where Missionaries may study the language, under the immediate tuition of Mr. Judson, and may prepare themselves for their duties; and from which the Scriptures and tracts may be circulated in Burmah Proper. And there is reason to hope, that missionary stations may be soon formed, and the Gospel safely and successfully preached, within the Burman territories.

This field belongs appropriately to the American Baptist churches.—Those who have traced the history of the mission, must have seen many wonderful tokens of the divine will, that the American Baptist churches should be intrusted with the service of converting the Burman Empire to the Christian faith. The voice of Providence on this point cannot be mistaken. These churches are responsible to God for the support, enlargement, and vigorous prosecution of this mission. They are responsible to the Christian world. Other denominations of Christians have chosen their posts of labour. They have left the Burman Empire to us, and they require us to do our duty, or yield our place to others, who will serve our common Master more faithfully. Will our churches shrink from this responsibility? Will they be false to their trust? They have abundant means at their command. There are more than four thousand Baptist churches in the United States. Can there not, then, be adequate funds furnished? Are there not among the ministers of our denomination, and the young men at our Academies and Colleges, some who will devote themselves to the service of their Redeemer in Burmah? Are there no more Colmans and Wheelocks, whose hearts burn within them, to proclaim to the dying idolaters of Burmah the unsearchable riches of Christ? Are there, among our sisters, none who will follow Mrs. Judson to the heathen

world, and there offer their lives as a willing sacrifice, that they may teach the Burmans the way of eternal life?

The mission ought to be reinforced without delay. Nearly a year has elapsed, since the Board of Missions resolved, to send three Missionaries and a printer to Burmah. A printer, Mr. Cephas Bennett, of Utica, N. Y. has been appointed; but no Missionaries have yet presented themselves. Meanwhile, tidings of the death of one of the little band in Burmah have reached us. A new station has been established, and other stations might be occupied, were there labourers to enter the whitening fields. Thousands of Burmans are dying every year, without hope. The Gospel of Christ can save them. Shall they not have it? Baptists of America! to you it belongs to answer this question.

We forbear to inquire, whether it may not have been the design of God, in committing the Burman mission to us, to establish in that empire churches, resembling in their construction, their doctrines and their rites, those which the Apostles founded; and like them, to be models for the churches which may hereafter be formed in that empire, and in the neighbouring nations. And whether there may not have been a similar end in view—the spread of the pure truth of God—in confiding to our brethren, Dr. Carey and Mr. Judson, the high duty of preparing the Scriptures for so large a portion of the eastern world.

We have stated the necessity for an additional number of Missionaries. Money, also, is wanted, to print the Scriptures. A printer and a press will be sent to Burmah without delay; and the printing of the Scriptures will be immediately commenced. Tracts, too, may be printed, and circulated, without any limit, except that of the funds which may be furnished. This is one of the easiest and most successful methods of spreading the truths of the Gosple in Burmah. The history of the mission shows the beneficial influence of tracts. The first inquirer was drawn to the zayat by a tract; and Mah Men-la, the most valuable female convert, received her first impressions from a tract. The ability to read is very common; and tracts, if circulated, will be read. Several societies, auxiliary to the Baptist General Tract Society, have been formed, in this country, for the purpose of aiding the printing of Burman tracts; and it is hoped, that ample funds may be furnished for this purpose.

But while we plead the claims of the Burman mission on the prayers and the liberality of our churches, we would not be understood to imply, that no other portion of the great moral waste demands the attention of our denomination. On the contrary, we hesitate not to express our decided opinion, that the missionary efforts by the Baptist churches in this country ought to be immediately increased. Besides the existing Missions among the aborigines, and at Liberia, new stations ought to be established. Greece, South America, China, and other countries, invite our labours. According to the lowest computation of the numbers of the human family, upwards of four hundred millions of our fellow men are idolaters or Mahometans. The largest and fairest regions of the earth are yet under the dominion of superstition, and its manifold miseries. By whom is the Gospel to be preached to these millions of human beings; and these dark places of the earth to be recovered to the dominion of the King of Zion? Plainly, it must be done by the Christian church. And will so large a part of that church, as the American Baptists, be contented with supporting nine or ten ordained Missionaries, and expending from twelve to twenty thousand dollars per annum, to spread the knowledge of the Saviour? Why should we, who number so great a portion of the Christian host, come up to the help of the Lord, with a force and zeal, so inadequate to the wants of a world lying in wickedness—so disproportionate to the strength of the denomination?

Brethren, let us resolve, that we will neglect our duty no longer. Churches of Christ, remember that you are not your own. He who purchased you with his blood, calls on you to engage in this glorious enterprise, with the full measure of your ability; and to advance, with united hearts, and concentrated energies, like an army with banners, to fight the battles of the Lord, until the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdom of Immanuel,—

> And every kindred, every tribe,
> On this terrestrial ball,
> To him all majesty ascribe,
> And crown him Lord of all.

We cannot more appropriately close this volume, than by inserting the following Address, written by Mrs. Judson during her visit to this country. It contains some valuable information respecting the condition of females, in the east; and it appeals, with eloquence and force, to the sensibilities of the female heart—to the sympathies and compassion of christian mothers, wives and daughters. It is a happy peculiarity of modern benevolent exertions, that females are invited to participate in the holy work of benefitting and saving mankind. There are posts which they may occupy, appropriate to their warm affections, and their untiring zeal, and yet to their modest and retiring habits. A large proportion of the whole sum of good, which is accomplished in the world, is the result of female diligence and liberality. In the support of the Burman mission, the Ladies of our churches and congregations may contribute essential aid. The female schools seem to claim their special attention, as the most direct and efficacious method of elevating the social condition, cultivating the minds, and saving the souls, of the women of Burmah. It was with a view to these schools, that this Address was written; and although she who here uttered her thoughts and her benevolent desires, is gone to the world of spirits, yet being dead, she still speaks; and we persuade ourselves that her voice will not be heard in vain.

ADDRESS

TO FEMALES IN AMERICA, RELATIVE TO THE SITUATION OF HEATHEN FEMALES IN THE EAST.

"*Boston, Nov.* 19, 1822.

"In the land of my birth, rendered doubly dear from the long entertained thought of never again beholding it; in the country favoured by Heaven above most others, it is with no common sensations, I address my sisters and female friends on this most interesting subject. Favoured as we are from infancy with instruction of every kind, used as we

are to view the female mind in its proper state, and accustomed as we are to feel the happy effects of female influence, our thoughts would fain turn away from the melancholy subject of female degradation, of female wretchedness. But will our feelings of pity and compassion; will those feelings which alone render the female character lovely, allow us to turn away—to dismiss the subject altogether, without making an effort to rescue—to save? No! I think I hear your united voices echo the reply: "Our efforts shall be joined with yours. Show us the situation of our tawny sisters the other side of the world, and though the disgusting picture break our hearts, it will fill us with gratitude to Him who has made us to differ, and excite to stronger exertion in their behalf." Listen, then, to my tale of wo!

"In Bengal and Hindostan, the females, in the higher classes, are excluded from the society of men. At the age of two or three years, they are married by their parents to children of their own rank in society. On these occasions all the parade and splendour possible are exhibited; they are then conducted to their father's abode, not to be educated, not to prepare for the performance of duties incumbent on wives and mothers, but to drag out the usual period allotted in listless idleness, in mental torpor. At the age of thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen, they are demanded by their husbands, to whose home they are removed, where again confinement is their lot. No social intercourse is allowed to cheer their gloomy hours; nor have they the consolation of feeling that they are viewed, even by their husbands, in the light of companions. So far from receiving those delicate attentions which render happy the conjugal state, and which distinguish civilized from heathen nations, the wife receives the appellation of *my servant*, or *my dog*, and is allowed to partake of what her lordly husband is pleased to give at the *conclusion* of his repast! In this secluded, degraded situation, females in India receive no instruction, consequently they are wholly uninformed of an eternal state. No wonder mothers consider female existence a curse; hence their desire to destroy their female offspring, and to burn themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands. This last circumstance might imply some attachment, were it not a well known fact, that the *disgrace* of a woman who refuses to burn with the corpse of her husband is such, that her nearest relations would refuse her a morsel of rice to

prevent her starvation. Thus, destitute of all enjoyment, both here and hereafter, are the females in Bengal. Such is their life, such their death—and here the scene is closed to mortal view! But, they are amiable, say some, and destitute of those violent passions which are exhibited among females in our own country. My beloved friends, be not deceived. Who ever heard that ignorance was favourable to the culture of amiable feelings? Their minds are in such a state of imbecility, that we might hope to find at least an absence of vicious feelings. But facts prove the contrary.—Whenever an opportunity for exhibiting the malignant passions of the soul occurs, human nature never made a more vigorous effort to discover her odious deformity, than has been observed in these secluded females.

"But let us turn our eyes from the present picture, to one not less heart-rending, but where hope may have a greater influence to brighten and to cheer. The females in the Burman Empire, (containing a population far above the United States of America,) are not like the females in Bengal, secluded from all society. In this respect they are on an equality with ourselves. Wives are allowed the privilege of eating with their husbands. They engage in domestick concerns, and thus, in some respects, the Burman females deserve our particular sympathy and attention. But they enjoy little of the confidence or affection of their husbands, and to be born a female is universally considered a peculiar misfortune. The wife and grown daughters are considered by the husband and father as much the subjects of discipline, as younger children; hence it is no uncommon thing for females of every age and description, to suffer under the tyrannick rod of those who should be their protectors.

"Burmah, also, like her sister nations, suffers the female mind to remain in its native state, without an effort to show how much more highly she has been favoured. The females of this country are lively, inquisitive, strong and energetick, susceptible of friendship and the warmest attachment, and possess minds naturally capable of rising to the highest state of cultivation and refinement. But, alas, they are taught nothing that has a tendency to cherish these best native feelings of the heart! That they possess strong, energetick minds, is evident from their mode of conversing, and from that inquisitive turn which is so conspicuous. It may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to mention a particular

display of mental energy as exhibited in the early inquiries of Mah Men-la.

"Some time previous to our arrival in Rangoon, her active mind was led to inquire the origin of all things. If a Boodh was deity, who created all that her eyes beheld? She inquired of this person, and that, visited all the teachers within the circle of her acquaintance, but none were able to give her satisfactory information on the subject. Her anxiety increased to such a degree, that her own family feared she would be deranged. She finally resolved on learning to read, that she might be able to gain the desired information from their sacred books. Her husband, willing to gratify her curiosity in this respect, taught her to read himself. After having acquired what very few Burman females are allowed to acquire, she studied the sacred books, which left her mind in the same inquisitive state as when she commenced. For ten years she had continued her inquiries, when, one day, a neighbour brought in a tract written by Mr. Judson, from which she derived her first ideas of an eternal God. Her next difficulty arose from her being ignorant of the residence of the author of the tract, and it was not till after the erection of the zayat, that this difficulty was removed. By her inquiries respecting the christian religion, she evinced a mind, which, had it been early and properly cultivated, would have hardly been surpassed by females in our own country. And happy am I to add, that she not only became rationally and speculatively convinced of the truths of the Gospel, but was, I trust, taught to feel their power on her heart, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, embraced them, has become an ornament to her profession, and her daily walk and conversation would shame many professors of religion in christian countries.*

"Shall we, my beloved friends, suffer minds like these to lie dormant, to wither in ignorance and delusion, to grope their way to eternal ruin, without an effort on our part, to raise, to refine, to elevate, and to point to that Saviour who has died equally for them as for us? Shall we sit down in indolence and ease, indulge in all the luxuries with which we are surrounded, and which our country so bountifully affords, and leave beings like these, flesh and blood, intellect

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*For an account of her subsequent decease, see p. 291 of this work.

and feeling, like ourselves, and of *our own sex*, to perish, to sink into eternal misery? No! by all the tender fe ngs of which the female mind is susceptible, by all the ivi- leges and blessings resulting from the cultivation an ex- pansion of the human mind, by our duty to God and our fellow creatures, and by the blood and groans of Him ho died on Calvary, let us make a united effort, let us all on all, old and young, in the circle of our acquaintance, to join us in attempting to meliorate the situation, to instruct, to enlighten and save females in the Eastern world; and though time and circumstances should prove that our it- ed exertions have been ineffectual, we shall escape at d th that bitter thought, that Burman females have been t, without an effort of ours to prevent their ruin.

"ANN H. JUDSON."

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